THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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INSIDE

Chicago, Houston, 3rd World

MORE F. B. I., C. I. A. PLOTS UNCOVERED


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(Chicago, Ill.) - The FBI compiled a dossier on the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (Black policeman's organization) dating back to its formation in June, 1968, and before, documents turned over to U.S. District Court here last week reveal.

Renault Robinson, executive director of the League said, following this disclosure, that the FBI kept a secret file on the League even before its inception on July 12, 1968, as reported in the *Chicago Defender*.

Robinson pointed out that the dossier complied in two notebooks, contained more than 500 pages of information, including telephone conversations, speeches and organizational goals secretly culled by the FBI in an effort to "connect the AAPL with organizations like the Black Panther Party."

There is one report on a telephone conversation between a WLS radio news reporter and Black Panther Party headquarters regarding a rally planned in support of the Patrolmen's League. Another telephone conversation is reported between former Chicago *Daily News* reporter Lu Palmer and then Black Panther Party coordinator Robert Rush. The Patrolmen's League was mentioned in the conversation.

The files were subpoenaed by the city of Chicago in a police discrimination case with the intention of proving that federal agencies, as well as the city itself, spied on the League and its founding members, Robinson told the *Defender*.

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Editorial

THE C.I.A. COVER-UP

Once again the intelligence of the American people is being insulted. This time by the Rockefeller Commission, and particularly Vice-President Rockefeller. Ordered by Ford to include in its investigation evidence-filled charges that the CIA participated in planning and carrying out assassinations of foreign leaders, Rockefeller tells the American people at the conclusion of his Commission's work, it did not have time to include its findings on this matter in the Commission report.

While declaring that the CIA had done nothing major, that no widespread pattern of illegal activity had been uncovered in the investigation, its material on CIA involvement in assassinations is not to be made public. If there is nothing major, if no widespread pattern of illegal activity has occurred, why not make all the information public? There should be nothing to fear.

The truth is, and every honest American knows it, there was and is widespread illegal activity by the CIA; the CIA did participate in and carry out assassinations of foreign leaders that threatened U.S. monopoly capitalist interests in various parts of the world. Some of those assassinations succeeded and some did not. Among those that did are Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, Diem in Vietnam, Sukarno in Indonesia, Allende in Chile, Mossedekh in Iran, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic and Che Guevara of Cuba, *all Third World leaders.*

The CIA admitted to carrying out illegal surveillance of American citizens, wiretapping, opening of mail, infiltration of U.S. organizations, after these activities became known through independent investigative means. Already massive in its implications, it's all that other activity that has not been forced out into the open that some expected the Rockefeller Commission to uncover.

Only massive pressure by American citizens across this country can prevent this second-stage Watergate cover-up. The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party is launching a nationwide campaign for signatures on a petition addressed to the Congressional Committee investigating intelligence activities, urging it to concentrate on civil rights organizations and leaders. What are you doing?



Thank You People's Free Heath Center Milwaukee, Wisc.

Brother David Du Bois, Editor-in-Chief
THE BLACK PANTHER
8501 East 14th Street
Oakland, California 94621

Brother Du Bois:

Please find enclosed a check for $100.00 to help continue to enlarge and improve the paper.

Even though the Clinic doesn't have much money, we see the survival of the paper being primary to the survival of all things.

For the People's Health,
CLINIC STAFF AND BOARD
Geneva McGee, Director

(The People's Free Health Center of Milwaukee, Wisconsin's near North Side, is a community-based and controlled health center. Initiated in January, 1971, by various community groups, including the Black Panther Party, the Center operates on the following three principles: 1. The Clinic shall exist to serve the community. Decisions will be made by the community, solely in the interest of the community. 2. All medical care at the Clinic will be provided to the patient free. We believe that good health care is the right of all people and not a privilege of the wealthy. 3. Relationships between doctors, nurses, medical technicians, students, community health workers, and patients must be on an equal basis.)

COMMENT

Recession Killing Black Teenagers' Hopes And Dreams

Recently, New York Times reporter Charlayne Hunter took to the streets, intent on finding out how this country's severe economic collapse was affecting Black and poor youths trapped within an already decaying urban environment. Part 2 of her bleak findings follows.

PART 2

A dilemma for these young people — many of whom are high school dropouts — is that they have few, if any, skills. But as they look around, they see college graduates out of work and competing for the same jobs. Others, applying for training programs, are being told they have to have experience to get in.

For some, who have held on to the hope that college may mean something to them in the long run, their optimism is fading as programs designed to give them needed financial aid, such as Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge (SEEK) and Model Cities, are being cut back and terminated.

"They're piling up at the bottom," said Royston Nero, director of a Harlem Manpower Center, as he explained that he had more than 1,500 applications for 265 summer jobs.

New federally financed public service jobs are not benefiting them because their criteria is just "out of work for 30 days," he continued. And there is only a very small, number of even the most menial jobs.

The responses of the youth tend to be angry, generalized denunciations of systems. Education, they say, has failed them. Politics, they say, has used them, and welfare, they say, has abused them.

The people who deal with young people's problems feel that such a response is likely to lead to explosive, spontaneous acts that may also lack direction.

Probation officers and others who deal with youthful offenders generally agree that many of the crimes committed by them — robbery, muggings, burglary — are tied in some way to both

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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Defense Rests In Bob Heard Trial

Elaine Brown Testifies For Framed B.P.P. Member

(Oakland, Calif.) — Valuable testimony from Ms. Elaine Brown, the defendant's own factual recounting of events and continued arbitrary rulings by trial judge Stanley Golde highlighted the trial of respected Black Panther Party member Robert Heard last week, as the defense rested its case.

During the first week of the trial, the court and prosecution, led by D.A. Tom Orloff, tried a "sensationalized" case against Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party now residing in Cuba, rather than against the victim of the frame-up charges, Bob Heard. Last Tuesday, Judge Golde denied a motion by Brother Bob's defense attorney, John George, which would have sent a



BPINS photo

Framed Black Panther Party member ROBERT HEARD, with his defense attorney JOHN GEORGE.

commission to Cuba to take evidence from Brother Huey clearing his close friend and comrade.

Making her second appearance under oath, Elaine Brown — who together with famed legal attorney Charles Garry revealed that Brother Huey was alive and well in Cuba — was an impressive witness for the defense.

Elaine quickly dispelled the distortion spread by the media of Brother Bob being Huey Newton's "bodyguard."

Elaine clearly explained that the concept of a "bodyguard" was "diametrically opposed to

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WALKOUT STALEMATES OAKLAND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

(Oakland, Calif.) — Outraged over the refusal by the City Council to allow seven newly-created neighborhood district boards to hire their own two-member staffs, spokespersons for the boards and their supporters walked out of last Thursday's special hearing on the issue, stalemating the city's plan for implementing its $62 million Community Development program.

"We'll boycott it," said one of the predominantly Black contingent as he stormed out of the meeting.

Contacted outside, Jim Webster, a member of the Central East Oakland district board and vice chairman of the seven board group of flatlands communities, said, "At this point the seven districts would like to reject the redevelopment staff."

"There's $210,000 built into the budget for the community," Booker Emery, chairman of the coalition group, stated angrily.



BPINS photo

Community speaker arguing for two-member staffs for the neighborhood district boards at last Thursday's City Council work session.

In flatly denying the community's demand to hire its own staff, estimated at $210,000 a year, the Council voted that the staff work for the district boards be provided by the city's Redevelopment Agency, which will administer the overall Community Development (CD) program in its first, transition year.

By July, 1976, the CD program — which replaces the specific "categorical" grant set up through which the federal government distributed revenue-sharing funds for local use — will be brought into the mainstream of Oakland city government structure under an Office of Community Development.

Just one week before, at another jampacked Thursday morning work session, the City Council rejected its own consultant's study on citizen participation in the CD program — which earmarks $12.7 million for Oakland in its first year — and adopted the district board plan forwarded by OCCUR (Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal).

OCCUR's plan establishes 10 district boards, seven for the poor, minority flatlands areas and three for the rich, predominantly White Oakland hills. OCCUR was previously voted as the official city "facilitator" for the CD program. It also strongly backed the boards' demand to hire their own staff of one professional and one clerical worker for each district.

AFRAID

Prior to the walkout, several representatives of the boards and their supporters accused the Council of being afraid to put money or responsibility into the hands of the people.

One sister told the Council to, "Stop being a pharoah over the people," while Jim Webster said the boards needed loyal staff to help "to fire up people...to turn the people on."

When the Council's own discusssion turned stale and was obviously going against the popular sentiment, representatives of the local neighborhoods came back to the speaker's stand. This time their anger was unmasked.

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FALLEN COMRADE

Joseph Waddell

Assassinated: June 13, 1972



Joseph Waddell, known by his friends and comrades as "Joe-Dell," joined the Black Panther Party in 1970 while serving a 25 to 30-year sentence in the city jail of High Point, North Carolina, on a trumped-up robbery charge. Comrade Joe-Dell was later transferred to Central Prison in Raleigh, North Carolina, where he was frequently beaten by guards because of his revolutionary activities.

On June 13, 1972, prison officials murdered Joe-Dell and claimed that he had died from a heart attack. Prison authorities removed his internal organs before Joe-Dell's body was released to his family. Joseph Waddell's sacrifice of his life in service of the people will not be forgotten.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

S.A.F.E. TAKES 30 SENIORS ON SAN FRANCISCO BUS TOUR

(Oakland, Calif.) — Thirty senior citizens ranging in ages from 55 to 80 were treated to an all-day bus tour to places of interest around San Francisco on Saturday, May 31, by the Seniors Against a Fearful Environment (SAFE) Program of the East Oakland Community Learning Center.

The tour included a leisurely ride through San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, the Planetarium, the Japanese Tea Gardens and the famous De Young Museum. A ride along the famous beach front facing the Pacific Ocean ended atop Sea Cliff, where the seniors strolled and shopped along the waterfront that provides a dramatic view of Golden Gate Bridge.

SMORGASBORD

After the beach, the seniors toured Japan Town and had lunch at a Smorgasborg restaurant in downtown San Francisco. After lunch the bus toured San Francisco's Chinatown and drove along the San Francisco harbor front to the famous Fisherman's Wharf where the seniors again debussed to visit Ripley's Believe It or Not Museum.

The seniors were accompanied by Arlene Clark, coordinator of the SAFE Program and Barbara Pelson. Adrienne Humphrey, member of the staff of the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinic, joined the group as a first aid assistant.

Ms. Clark told THE BLACK PANTHER that several of the seniors who took the tour had not been out of Oakland for 30 years. Others who had moved from the south to Oakland had never been to San Francisco, and very few from the group had ever had the opportunity to take such a tour.

All expenses for the tour were borne by the SAFE Program with the exception of the $1.50 lunch and the entrance ticket to the Ripley Museum which cost $1.00.

The tour lasted from 11:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. and was thoroughly enjoyed by all the seniors as well as by their hosts.□



BPINS photo

Senior citizens enjoyed shopping and strolling in recent all-day tour of San Francisco's scenic sites.

Senior Power





"CEREMONIES IN DARK OLD MEN" AT COMMUNITY FORUM

(Oakland, Calif.) - The highly acclaimed play "Ceremonies In Dark Old Men" by Lonnie Elder III, was the highlight of the Son of Man Temple Community Forum last Sunday. The play was enthusiastically performed by the NOTHERN VALLEY BLACK ENSEMBLE of Yuba City College, in Yuba City, California. The Ensemble was given a standing ovation by a large and very appreciative audience.

Following the performance the Forum audience was introduced to nine-year-old DERRICK KNOCKUM by his teacher STEVE McCUTCHEN, director of the All Open Martial Arts Class of the Community learning Center of East Oakland. Young Derrick displayed a beautiful trophy (nearly as tall as himself) that he won on Saturday, June 7, placing first in the California State Tae Kwon Do Pee Wee Championships held at Oakland Auditorium.

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

June 10, 1940

Born in Jamaica, West Indies, Marcus Moyiah Garvey came to America and built one of the first and strongest organized mass movements among Black people. "Up You Mighty Race," Garvey thundered, "you will accomplish what you will." Using as a slogan, "Africa for Africans at home and abroad," Marcus Garvey preached the gospel of a united Africa under the rule of Black men and, in the process, recruited thousands of Black Americans into his extraordinary nationalist movement. Garvey provided his followers with gigantic mass parades and rallies, uniforms and pageantry, glorifying everything Black and building a new sense of pride in Black people. Garvey was also an excellent fundraiser. Distinguished Black poet James Weldon Johnson estimated that Garvey once collected $10 million in a single one-year period. With the funds, he organized Black cooperatives, the Black Star Lines (a commercial steamship venture), and a private, all-Black army. Arrested in 1925 on false charges of using the mails to defraud, Garvey was framed, convicted and sent to a federal penitentiary in Atlanta. In December, 1927, Marcus Garvey was deported. He died in London, England, on June 10, 1940.

June 10, 1946

Jack Johnson, a legendary prizefighter whose flamboyant career as the first Black man to hold the heavyweight boxing crown caused him to be hounded around the world by government authorities, died in Raleigh, North Carolina, on June 10, 1946.

June 12,1963

Stepping from his parked car in the driveway in front of his home in Jackson, Medgar Evers, 37, NAACP field secretary for the state of Mississippi, was assassinated by diehard segregationists on June 12, 1963.



Blacks in Harlem showed no fear of the fascist police that filled their community in 1966, following the murder of a 15-year-old youth by police.

Harlem Gets Police Dispute Center

(New York, N.Y.) — A community-based mediation center for what are described as "minor disputes" between policemen and members of the community was opened in Harlem recently. The center, under the auspices of the Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, is the first of its kind in the country.

Situated at 402 West 145th Street, the center will employ community residents who have undergone four months of training in arbitration and mediation to handle cases such as harassment, domestic disputes and other "lesser crimes between friends, relatives and neighbors," according to Basil A. Paterson, the Institute's head.

The cases will be referred to the center by police officers either directly from the scene of the incident or from the station house if the disputants agree on such a course of action. A three-person panel will then hear the case and if the parties themselves cannot agree on a resolution, the panel will impose one.

Rationale for the establishment of the center argues that it will free police officers "for more serious crimes" and help unclog the courts. "A lot of these cases just get bogged down in the courts now," Eda Harris, a social worker and one of 24 persons so far trained by the Institute, told the *The New York Times*.

"They really don't belong in the court system. These people are going back to the community; they'll see each other. They need a resolution they can live with."

New York City Police Commissioner Michael Codd said that it made "very little sense" to handle disputes in courts and "keep our valuable police power tied up rather than being in the streets attending to more serious crimes."

District Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau, who promised "100 per cent cooperation" in the venture, criticized criminal law as "an imperfect way of solving criminal problems, but particularly imperfect when it is called in to family and community disputes."

The center, which received a $306,000 federal grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, through the Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, will initially serve the areas covered by the 30th and 34th Precincts — all of Manhattan north of 141st Street.□

BLACKS RUN OUT OF CALIF. OIL TOWN

(Taft, Calif) - Thirteen Black football players at Taft Junior College here, who represent the town's total Black population, were run out of town last week by a gang of young, mostly unemployed White toughs in the latest in a series of racial incidents that has recently hit this hot, southern California oil community.

VIOLENCE

The recent violence began on May 25, when several White youths began threatening three Black students at Taft Junior College as they walked along a street. Doug Henry, 22, who was identified by the police as the leader of the White youths, threatened Brother Joe W. Rhone with a knife as a second White jumped on Brother Rhone's back.

Rhone, who was carrying a pool cue case, used the case as a club to beat off his attackers. A shotgun he was carrying inside the case went off accidently striking Henry in the neck and shoulder. He was taken to the hospital in serious condition.

The police arrested Brother Rhone and took the other two students into "protective" custody. Later, however, the Kern County District Attorney refused to issue a complaint against Brother Rhone contending the student acted in self-defense.

On the following Tuesday, this racial confrontation was reported in *The Taft Midway Driller* by Dennis McCall, the paper's 33-year-old editor. That evening, McCall was attacked as he stood near the junior college talking to White students. He later identified his assailant as Rick Riddick, 22. Riddick accused the editor of being "a nigger lover" because he wrote news accounts of the May 25 incident. The police would not arrest Riddick until Mr. McCall signed a complaint. Riddick pleaded guilty in the Taft Justice Court and was fined $250.



White racists.

In an interview, Riddick, who denied having any part in the attack against the Black students, nevertheless described what he thought prompted it: "They (the White youths) get some booze and they say, 'What the hell, the coloreds beat up our friends, take our girls, and the cops don't do nothing.' So what are they to do?"

Meanwhile, a mob of Whites returned to the campus and threatened several Black students that were living there. The police were called again, and this time they took 12 Blacks into "protective" custody, and placed them in the Taft City Jail. The police later "escorted" these Black people to Bakersfield (30 miles away) where they were released.□

THE SAN QUENTIN 6 MUST BE SET FREE

"Warehoused" in San Quentin Prison's Adjustment Center (AC for their political beliefs, six Black and Brown prison activists — Luis Talamantez, David Johnson, Willie Tate, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo and Black Panther Party member Johnny Spain — filed suit in early 1974 charging that their confinement in the brutal AC was "cruel and unusual punishment." In Part 11 of a post-trial memorandum submitted for the six brothers by attorneys Fred Hiestand and Mark Merin, more dehumanizing features of the Adjustment Center are revealed.



San Quentin 6 members (from left) DAVID JOHNSON, WILLIE TATE and FLEETA DRUMGO.

PART 11

The plaintiffs parade, fully chained, before a parole board with its mind swayed by prison officials who have prejudiced the board against the plaintiffs by treating them as if they are too dangerous to release to the general population. How then could the Adult Authority even consider parole? How indeed, when the petty crimes for which plaintiffs were convicted would not have held a White man in prison one third the time that plaintiffs have already spent with still no release prospects.

(Former Adult Authority) Director Procunier knows it is "rare" for the Adult Authority to parole even an eligible prisoner from administrative segregation; he knows that the parole board uses assignment to the Adjustment Center as the reason for denying parole, and that such a reason is "common."

Lest there be some doubt, the Adult Authority confirmed the general procedural prejudice against Adjustment Center prisoners when, after the indictment against plaintiffs was quashed, it nevertheless denied parole to all of them on the basis that there was "legal action pending against the San Quentin Six" — the legal action being the state's appeal of the order quashing the indictment. Such hand-in-glove operations belie the independence of the Adult Authority and place it instead in the grip of the prison officials. It is from this grip that resentful and angry prisoners denouce the bias of both the prison authorities and the Adult Authority.

DEPRIVATIONS AFFECTING VISITING

The ramifications of Adjustment Center confinement pervade all aspects of prison life, converting each activity, minor or major, into pain and humiliation. Though, in the large, plaintiffs are hopelessly denied any parole possibility, they are also denied even the small pleasure of physical comfort from the closest members of their families.

Visiting assumes an importance equal to the immense deprivation of Adjustment Center confinement. When they should be receiving more physical contact, more visiting to compensate for the intolerability of their isolation, plaintiffs get less than one fourth of the visits to which mainline prisoners are entitled.

Visitors endure hours of waiting time, especially on crowded weekends when waits for visits with those on the first tier of the Adjustment Center will reach five hours if there are so many as six visitors for men on the first tier who are limited to the use of two visiting rooms. Some visitors wait all day only to be turned away as visits end at 2:00 or 3:00 p.m.

The visiting restrictions — plaintiffs are chained in traveling gear and secluded in a glass walled room from their visitors — make visits so painful that some of plaintiffs have asked their families and loved ones not to come to see them.

The visiting deficiencies have not escaped the defendants' notice: The chief psychiatrist says that the prisoners should be able to embrace their families; the Warden agrees that "deprivation of an opportunity to embrace loved ones over an extended period of time results in psychological pain"; director Procunier, who didn't know that the plaintiffs have not been permitted even to embrace their families in their years in the Adjustment Center, said he "would be surprised" if that were the case.

Condemned by all familiar with them, the cruel visiting deprivations remain. Instead of being a positive, therapeutic experience, visits sometimes reinforce the prisoners' anger, resentment and

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OUR HEALTH

Venereal Disease

Venereal disease (VD) is the general name given to those diseases caused by bacteria which are passed directly from person to person during sexual relations. VD has reached epidemic levels in many parts of the U.S. largely due to the public's ignorance of the facts about the disease.

Syphilis and gonorrhea are the two venereal diseases most damaging to mental and physical health. They are two different diseases caused by two different germs. A person may be infected with both diseases at the same time.

Gonorrhea — commonly called "clap" — is caused by a germ called the gonococcus. It is the most common of the venereal diseases and usually remains localized (in one part of the body), unlike syphilis.

Gonorrhea is caught during intimate physical contact with the sex organs or rectum of an infected person. In the male, the first symptom is usually a burning pain in the penis during urination, accompanied by a discharge of pus. This occurs two to six days after contact with an infected person.

A female with gonorrhea rarely notices anything wrong. She usually does not have a burning sensation when urinating. She may or may not have an increased vaginal discharge. Thus, she may unknowingly spread the infection to others and allow her own infection to progress into serious complications.

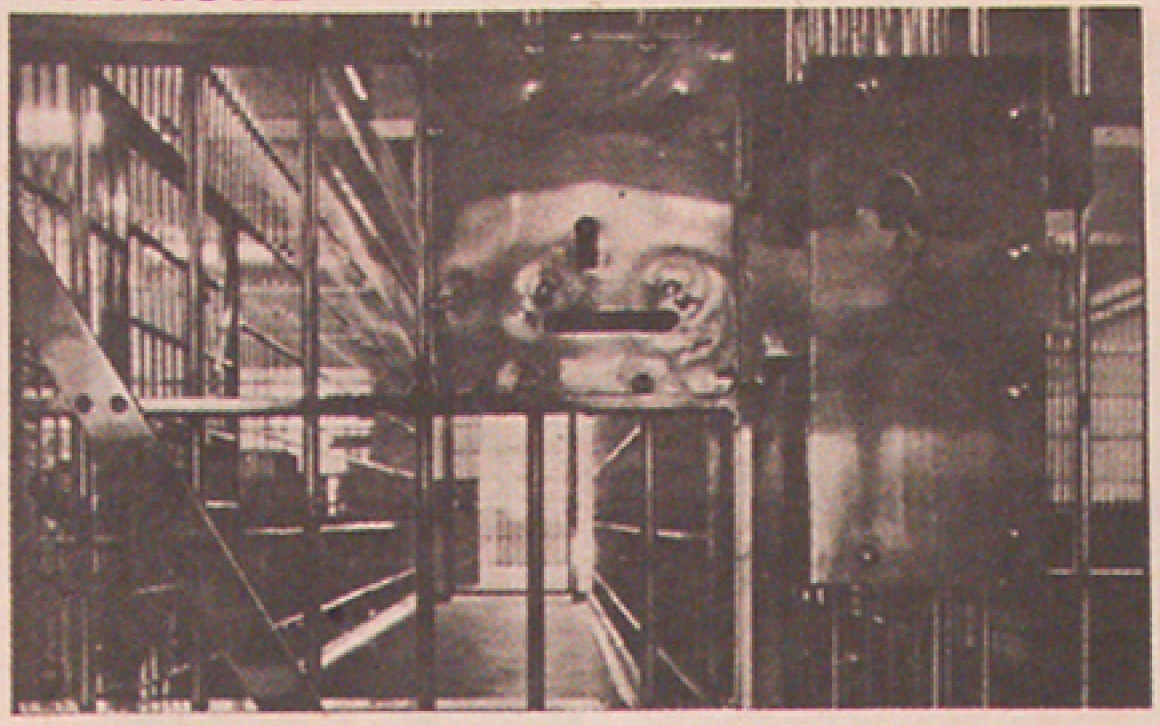
A simple smear test confirms gonorrhea of the penis but is of no value in determining the presence of gonorrhea of the female sex organs or of the rectum. More complicated laboratory tests are required for the female.

Also, it is possible to have gonorrhea of the rectum and not know it, although some people complain of rectal irritation and a discharge.

With early treatment under proper medical supervision, gonorrhea can be cured with the medicines that are now available. If it is not adequately treated, it may progress to painful complications, including arthritis, sterility, heart problems or serious pelvic disorders in women requiring major surgery. A person can catch gonorrhea many times.

ATTORNEY FIRED BY ATMORE – HOLMAN BROTHER

Offered Deal To Turn Against I.F.A.



(Birmingham, Alabama) — Brother Johnny Harris (also known as Imani) one of the Atmore-Holman Brothers, convicted of murder on February 28, 1975, in The alleged killing of an Atmore Prison guard in February, 1974, has issued a statement denouncing and firing his defense attorney, Morris Dees, for having failed to act in his behalf during Harris' trial, according to a May 25 Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee press release.

Harris' trial was one of a series resulting from frame-up charges by the state of Alabama against the Atmore-Holman Brothers. All of those charged are members of the Inmates For Action (IFA), an organization of prisoners who are trying to make known the conditions existing in Alabama's prisons. Harris was convicted by an all-White middle-class, male jury. The case was personally prosecuted by Bill Baxley, the attorney general of the state of Alabama, under a 1868 Alabama law which carries the death penalty for murder committed by a prisoner serving a life sentence.

The defense lawyer for Harris was Morris Dees, multimillionaire, businessman/lawyer from Montgomery, Alabama. Dee's approach was one of isolating Brother Harris from all of the other Brothers, though Harris was the most important source of srength.

SYSTEMATIC PLAN

Dees refused to acknowledge that the trials were a part of a systematic plan by the state of Alabama to "legally lynch" the members of the IFA and to destroy the IFA. All of the names of the Atmore-Holman Brothers appeared on a death list compiled by the prison officials. Already three of the members have been assassinated—George Dobbins, Tommy Dotson, and Frank X. Moore.

Brother Harris sends the following message "to the People:"

"I do not wish for Morris Dees to continue to represent me as my attorney.

"Morris Dees should never be allowed to represent any poor and oppressed person...He cannot possibly understand our struggle just to maintain a day-to-day existence whether we are in or out of prison.

"...Dees used my trial to gain a reputation as a 'fighter' against the death penalty, although he himself has indicated that he is in favor of the death penalty for certain crimes.

"...Before the trial, Baxley offered a deal—a life sentence if I required me to lie about the IFA and really sell them down the river. I would not do this and therefore went to trial knowing that I could receive the death penalty, if found guilty.

"...Dees convinced me that my only hope with the jury was to

Senate Subcommittee To Probe Prisoner Experiments

(Washington, D.C.) - This week, the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Health, chaired by Senator Ted Kennedy, will begin hearings into clinical investigations, research and experimentation by drug companies using institutionalized people as subjects. Testimony of former prisoners who have had bad experiences and of others who have knowledge of this type of activity will be heard.

Urban Information Interpreters, Inc., a nonprofit organization whose stated purpose is to serve the information needs of the urban poor, is collecting information on such experimentation in order to bring it to the attention of the committee.

Their address is: Post Office Box AH, College Park, Maryland 20740.

This effort is one of many in the struggle against the misuse of imprisoned people.



Havenscourt Junior High students.

Community Learning Center Hosts Havenscourt Jr. High Graduates

(Oakland, Calif.) - Graduating students of Havenscourt Junior High School enjoyed a delightful dinner/dance on June 5 at East Oakland's Community Learning Center.

Three days prior to the dinner/dance, officials of the Lake Merritt Sailboat House, where the parents and the school had originally scheduled the event three and one-half weeks before, wrote the Havenscourt administration a letter informing them that their contract with the Sailboat House should not have been approved because allegedly there is a policy of no dancing at the Sailboat House. The students had already paid the full fee for the Sailboat House's facilities.

When the parents, school principal and other staff asked the Sailboat House why the contract had been approved and their money taken, they were told that the Parks and Recreation Department staff person who had negotiated and approved the contract had had no authority to do so.

CATERING SERVICE

Unable to find another location for the dance (the dinner was held at the Sailboat House since the catering service had already been set up there), the parents contacted the Community Learning Center which immediately opened its facilities for the dance.

Over 75 students, chaperoned by eight parents, attended the dance. Asha, a band which

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HOUSTON POLICE CHIEF PRESSURED TO STOP WIRETAP PROBE

Testifies Before House Judiciary Subcommittee

(Washington, D.C.) — Houston, Texas, Police Chief Carrol M. Lynn testified here recently before a House Judiciary subcommittee that the Houston Police Department is "quietly" investigating alleged pressure on Lynn to stop his investigation of massive illegal wiretapping by Houston police.

Lynn claimed that he had been under considerable pressure as a result of his investigation and of his being called to testify before the House subcommittee.

Asked by Rep. Herman Badillo whether he (Lynn) was investigating the sources of the pressure, Lynn said, "That's difficult to do. Any action I take that would appear to protect me would probably be blown out of proportion by some people in the media.

"But very quietly in some people's spare time we have been looking into it," Lynn said.



(Right) Houston police chief CARROL LYNN being sworn in before House Judiciary Subcommittee, and (left) ANTHONY FARRIS of Houston, former U.S. attorney for the southern district of Texas.

CHARGES

He has been investigating charges of illegal wiretapping under the previous police administration headed by former police chief Herman Short. Lynn, who took office in January, 1974, told a Texas Senate Consumer Affairs subcommittee that the number of illegal wiretaps made by Houston police since 1968 is "probably up into the thousands.

"Wiretapping was so widespread," Lynn said, that "I would suggest that anyone in political life has probably been listened to."

Elaborating on the kind of pressure Lynn has received, he told the House subcommittee that "some people facing indictment before a federal grand jury have gone to my bank using false information to get fingernails (information) on my accounts."

The Houston police chief said that about 200 employees of Southwestern Bell Telephone Company aided the police in the illegal wiretapping and that Jerry L. Slaughter, chief of security for Southwestern Bell, admitted to Lynn in a secretly taped conversation that he (Slaughter) had been aware of the wiretapping but had done nothing to stop it.

"Although he (Slaughter) personally denied giving illegal wiretap information to law enforcement officers since 1966, he admitted to me that he was aware that it was being done and that it was his policy merely to 'look the other way,' " Lynn testified.

Slaughter confirmed that he had discussed police wiretapping last October with Lynn but that he (Slaughter) had made no statement to Lynn indicating that he had any involvement in or personal knowledge of illegal wiretapping by any law enforcement agency at any time.

According to Lynn, police officers obtained help from Southwestern employees by "finding an employee who had violated the law" and making a "deal" that the Bell employee "would furnish information to the (police) department about where to place wiretaps."

Lynn and former U.S. Attorney Anthony J.P. Farris, who also testified before the House subcommittee, charged that the Houston FBI was negligent in investigating reports of wiretapping by city police and others. Tom Jordan, former head of the FBI's Houston office, denied the charges.

In January, 1974, federal indictments were returned against nine police officers for illegal wiretapping. None have been tried.□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

School Segregation

(Miami, Fla.) - District Court Judge Joe Eaton ruled recently that a school run by a religious sect does not have the right to refuse admission to Black students on the grounds that the Bible prohibits intermingling of the races, and could not invoke the Constitutional right of religious freedom to justify segregation. The practice, the judge continued, was not a religious belief but a "policy" developed by the school over a period of years. The case, which could have nationwide impact, involved Johnny Brown, a 28 year-old Black Miami bus driver, who tried unsuccessfully in 1973 to enroll his two daughters, then five and seven years old, in Dade Christian, a private all-White institution, which is operated by the New Testament Baptist Church.

Civil Trials

(Chicago, Ill.) - A study made by the American Bar Association (ABA) Commission on Standards of Judicial Administration recommends that a unanimous jury verdict should not be required in certain civil trials, and proposed six-person juries in federal and state civil trials and some criminal trials. For crimes whose penalty could be more than six months imprisonment, the Commission recommends that juries consist of 12 persons. But for lesser criminal cases, a jury could consist of from six to 12 persons. Verdicts would still have to be unanimous. Also included in the recommendations was that all United States citizens older than 18, with very few exceptions, be eligible for jury duty. The proposal will be submitted to the ABA's House of Delegates for consideration.

Hamlet Firebombings

(Hamlet, N.C.) - White police sergeant James Bryant was arrested last week and charged with assaulting a Black woman who claims that Bryant shot her. In retaliation, four buildings and a vacant lot were firebombed. A curfew and heavy police patrols were later imposed on the Black community in this railroad town of 5,000.

Eddie Sanchez Frame-Up Trial Resumes

(Marion, Illinois) — The political trial of Chicano prison activist Eddie Sanchez resumed on June 2. Brother Sanchez is on trial in U.S. District Court in Kansas on frame-up charges dating from a 1973 prison rebellion at Leavenworth Prison.

On May 21, Brother Sanchez was the victim of an assault by ten prison guards at the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. He had been handcuffed and removed from his cell in the Behavior Modification unit under the pretense that the guards had to mop the tier. Eddie Sanchez slipped and fell on the way back to the cell and he was immediately set upon by the ten guards.

One of the reasons Sanchez is singled out for special brutality is his consistent, persistent fight against Behavior Modification programs in prisons.



Eddie responded to this latest beating with this message to the people: "Despite beatings by pick handles, kicks by fascist boots, hits by their hands or even bullets, the people's cry for justice will not be silenced. . ."

Eddie, like almost each and every prisoner in America's prison camps, needs every kind of support and needs it badly. Send letters of protest demanding that the government dismiss the frame-up charges to: Judge George Templar, U.S. District Court, Topeka, Kansas 66601. Eddie's case is referred to as *U.S. vs. Edward Martin Sanchez*. Donations to his defense, as well as copies of the letter sent to Judge Templar and requests for information, should be sent to: Committee to Free Eddie Sanchez, 912 East 31st., Kansas City, Missouri 64109.□

CHICANO JUDGE WANTS "LITTLE CUBA" TEXAS TOWN

Raza Unida Electoral Sweep Resented In Crystal City

(Crystal City, Texas) — Judge Jose Angel Gutierrez, a leader of this south Texas community that is 80 per cent Mexican-American, recently returned home from a 10-day visit to Cuba. Overwhelmed with what he saw, Gutierrez, who is also a leader of the Mexican-American party, La Raza Unida, wants to turn his town into a socialist "little Cuba," reports the *Honolulu Advertiser*.

Gutierrez, 30-year-old son of a Crystal City doctor, and 12 other La Raza Unida leaders from Texas, California, Indiana, Wisconsin and Illinois made the trip. All returned praising Cuba. Gutierrez told a cheering crowd of townsfolk who gathered to welcome him home that the U.S. could learn much from Cuba's socialized education, socialized health care and socialist home construction.

Gutierrez said: "Now that we have had the opportunity to witness part of what socialism is and certainly experienced to a limited extent what capitalism is, I would certainly opt for socialism being a better way. We've got to make a Cuba here."



Overwhelmed by the advanced, agricultural methods, and other positive features of socialism he saw in Cuba (above) Judge Jose Angel Gutierrez wants to turn Crystal City into a "Little Cuba."

Gutierrez continued: "The specific applicability of socialism to south Texas or any place would depend first of all on local initiative — the people desiring to change their own situation by whatever means necessary, ballots or bullets or whatever."

He added he did not expect a violent revolution any time soon so winning elections is the only way. And that's what he has been doing. Gutierrez was elected Zavala County judge last November. This followed his election as chairman of the local school board in 1971 in a sweep for La Raza Unida.

Race horse raiser Jack Kingsbery, a local resident, concedes Gutierrez's party won "fair and square," but claims most of the voters stayed home. Now, he says, there appears to be little chance the Democrats, traditional office holders, will retain office.

WHITES MOVE

Kingsbery said that 150 White families moved out of town during 1971 to put their children in other schools following the Raza Unida sweep of the school board. Families not financially able to move founded a private school at the Baptist and Methodist churches.

Since that victory in 1971 a statue of Mexican revolutionary hero Benito Juarez has been placed in front of City Hall and members of the high school band march at sports events with their clenched fists raised in the Brown Power salute.

Referring to Cuba, Gutierrez told his supporters: "We can't go around saying those guys are the bad guys and we're the good guys forever. If the United States insists that capitalism is the answer for a developed industrial society to meet the needs of all the people within its territory in terms of health and education and so on, then it's a big lie. Because they have not done so in the case of Chicanos, for one."□

DELLUMS' CORNER

Advocates Social Security "Pass Through" Legislation

(Washington, D.C.) - So an attempt to insure the future increase in Social Security benefits do not adversely affect the other benefits received by disadvantaged persons, California Congressman Ron Dellums has called for Social Security "pass through" legislation. The bill is designed to protect recipients of benefits under certain specific federal and federally-assisted programs from having their benefits reduced or eligibility for benefits discontinued as a result of increases in monthly Social Security benefits.

"It has been established that increases in Social Security benefits are resulting in a decrease in other income securities, negating in part and in some cases all of the Social Security," Dellums stated.

One bill addresses the problem as it specifically relates to the Supplemental Security Income program; another bill is directed at the Food Stamp program; and the third bill covers Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid and certain child welfare programs.

The Social Security "pass through" bill would be accomplished by directing the administrators of the programs addressed to disregard increases in monthly Social Security payments in determining the income and benefit levels of the program participants. The multi-bill approach has been described by Congressman Dellums as more "sensible and more responsible" than any other legislation introduced in this area.

Congressman Dellums arrived at the essence of the situation when he stated, "Our assistance programs should genuinely enhance the financial security of the aged, widowed, disabled, and other low income people."

Defense Rests In Bob Heard Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the philosophic tenants of the Black Panther Party.

"That implies that one person's life is more important than another's," Elaine said, as the jury of three Blacks and nine Whites listened intently, calling it "an absurd notion" and repeating that such a role was against the nature of the Party's guiding principles.

Elaine explained that the Black Panther Party did believe in the right to self-defense because "every human being has the right to live.

"People can't, and shouldn't, be discriminated against because of their race, or their color, or their sex, or their size," Elaine testified. "Equality must be on an equal plane, not just equal opportunity. The Black Panther Party believes in equal housing, equal clothing; the things people need to live and survive."

The Party, she said, is "opposed to those who oppose this fundamental right."



HUEY P. NEWTON, author and leader of the Black Panther Party, at 1974 Book Party.

BPINS photo

After informing the jury that Bob was a volunteer at the Intercommunal Youth Institute, the East Oakland model school the Party helped to initiate, Elaine provided some timely and significant information concerning the reputation of Whitfield, one of Brother Bob's chief police accusers.

Elaine testified that through her work with the Community Coalition on Police Racism, she had learned that, "In the Black community, he (Whitfield) is known as being dishonest." Whitfield, Elaine asserted, was known to be "pushy, hostile, and aggressive . . . harassing prostitutes, ordering drinks without paying for them and kicking in doors."

This was the maximum Judge Golde would let the jury know about Whitfield as anything but an "honest cop." In fact, in the fall of 1974, Whitfield was caught stealing at a Sears store in San Francisco, failed a lie detector test and was fired from the Oakland Police Department. Golde would not permit this information in testimony. Even Sgt. Drathworhl, one of the Oakland police raiders the night of the Fox restaurant incident, contradicted parts of Whitfield's tale.

Brother Bob, the victim of the state's unraveling web of lies, was on the witness stand for most of Thursday, in his own defense. Bob's testimony told of the attempt by Whitfield and his partner Tyson to provoke and harass Huey Newton outside the Fox and filled in important gaps in the admittedly hazy story of Callins, the tailor.

Concerning the Fox restaurant set-up, Brother Bob explained how Whitfield and Tyson provoked the incident and said that the only guns that he knew of were the ones the police held, threatening to shoot he and Brother Huey when he came out of the restroom.

On the tailor incident, Bob said that on the afternoon Callins claims he was beaten — a tape recording of Callins admitting that he instigated the fight has been "lost" or destroyed by the police — he dropped by Brother Huey's apartment only one time, and without ever finding out what exactly was going on, drove Callins home.

Brother Bob testified that he offered to take Callins to the hospital since he (Callins) seemed hurt, but the tailor asked to be taken home. Bob also said that when Callins left the apartment, he stooped at the doorway and asked for a bottle of cognac Huey had given him — testimony to which Callins agreed.

In an unprecedented and malicious move, Judge Golde informed Elaine and defense attorney George that he was banning the children from the Intercommunal Youth Institute from attending court proceedings next Tuesday, when the jury will hear closing arguments and summations. When attorney George appealed this move, Golde changed his ruling to allowing youngsters from the Community Learning Center's Teen Club to come to court, claiming that the Institute children — who have quietly attended the trial in small groups since the opening day — would be too "disruptive."□

More F.B.I., C.I.A. Plots Uncovered

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

He explained that the dossier had been "cleaned out" by the Justice Department before being turned over to the city. "They made certain they took out all internal FBI memos and informants' names," he added. Robinson explained that although the FBI was satisfied that the AAPL was not a "subversive" organization, "they continued their surveillance for more than five years."

Copies of the documents show that some of the data was sent directly to the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and that other information was routinely shared with the Secret Service, the U.S. Attorney's office, the Army's 113th Military Intelligence Group and the Chicago police.

"This is the first time that we have a definite admission from evidence that the FBI kept track and spied on the League and that they shared their information with the Chicago Police Department," Robinson said. He questioned the FBI motives in continuing surveillance of the League, although it had never been accused of criminal activities.

Copies of the files submitted to the city and later made available to the League have numerous blank pages and pages with names and whole paragraphs blocked out. However, they provide ample proof that the FBI gathered data at League meetings, rallies and even at out-of-state speaking engagements.

A recommendation that the FBI stop spying on the League was contained in an intelligence report dated June 24, 1969, and sent to the FBI in Chicago. The report stated that the League was "not known to be militant" and concluded:

"In view of the above and since the police department recognizes the Afro-American Patrolmen's League as a legitimate organization, it is recommended this matter be closed."

Attorneys representing the city in the bias suit said during the trial that surveillance of the League stopped in late 1973 or early 1974 and that it had not resumed. However, the FBI documents indicate that intelligence data on the League has continued to be shared with the police since then.

Among the Chicago policemen named in the documents as cooperating with the FBI is Filmore District Commander Robert Williams. The police captain was a lieutenant in 1970 when he was listed as a source for data on the League.□

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

MARTIN LUTHER KING ASSASSINATION: A CONSPIRACY

In November, 1974, investigative reporter Jeff Cohen flew to Memphis, Tennessee, to attend hearings in federal district court on a motion filed by James Earl Ray, the accused and convicted assassin of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., seeking to change his plea from "guilty" to "innocent" and thus stand retrial for the crime he maintains he did not commit. In the article which follows, Part 5 of a series, Cohen summarizes the facts that he has learned — evidence which documents, according to the author, "The Secret Team Behind a Decade of Assassinations."



Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., addressing 1963 March on Washington.

PART 5

Was Martin Luther King eliminated by a "mad assassin" or by a well coordinated, well financed, paramilitary operation? The official fiction involves a prison escapee, who, without any means of support, spends over $10,000 in four countries within ten months. This loner kills King to satisfy his hunger for recognition and status in "White America." Although this official scenario reads simple enough for our children's history texts, the truth is far more complex.

In the last year of his life, Martin Luther King had escalated his rhetoric and protests against the Vietnam War. King's last public speech blasted the war.

Although the southern movement had put several civil rights laws on the books, the summer of 1967 was urban America's bloodiest. Correspondingly, the focus of King's politics was shifting from civil rights to economic issues. King was shot down in the midst of a battle in defense of striking Memphis sanitation workers. King's organizing efforts to lead a massive Poor People's March on Washington in the summer of 1968 were also aborted.

On the eve of the King slaying, a *Reader's Digest* writer expressed a view all too familiar to Watergate watchers. While the writer did not criticize King's civil rights activities for Blacks, in reference to the Poor People's March, he called King a "national security threat." "King is today the most dangerous man in America."

Rev. James Lawson, a King associate in Memphis, said that certain groups hated King who were not "overt racists," but rather, "paranoid patriots with a neurotic anti-communist fetish." It was accepted in the King camp that the CIA had masterminded the murder of Malcolm X, another "national security threat." (Malcolm was slain soon after dumping his anti-White rhetoric for internationalism, an ideology very dangerous to the powers that rule by dividing the races.)

Wayne Chastain, the Memphis reporter-author who has investigated the King assassination since it occured, told this writer that King's death was initiated by paramilitarists "who didn't care too much about Dr. King. Their primary objectives were: 1) Stop the Poor People's March. 2) As a side effect, create racial turmoil in the cities. Martial law would be declared, as it was in Memphis. There's be a 'man on a white horse' fever in the air. People would be looking for authoritarian leadership in an election year."

The "paranoid patriots" are well organized into a paramilitary "Secret Team," an invisible government, that has eliminated national leaders, and has coordinated a nationwide network of electronic surveillance and political sabotage aimed at any, and all, opposition. This invisible government is a three-headed beast composed of intelligence agencies, the military-industrial complex, and organized crime.

The Secret Team functions freely within the official government through its military and intelligence agents. While the Team often spends our tax money for its dirty tricks, it is much cleaner to draw laundered money out of its own private budget, which comes from the coffers of organized crime and war profiteers.

The Team's operatives are as likely to sell their services — forgery, break-in, assassination — to a syndicate employer, as to a political, paramilitary organization. Since the U.S.-Cuba thaw, some CIA-trained Cubans commandos now work as hired guns to protect Miami mobsters and the New York heroin traffic. It was a paramilitary unit from the Secret Team that eliminated Martin Luther King.

For a couple smuggling runs, Raoul, Ray's contact man from the Secret Team, kept him well supplied with money. Ray's last assignment for Raoul was to purchase a rifle. Ray admits that he bought the rifle, "but that it wasn't with my money." He said that he returned the first rifle because "I understand the first one was the wrong type and I had to take it back and get another." The men who sold Ray the rifles said that he "seemed to know very little about guns."

GUN TAKEN

Ray told his attorney that "the gun he had bought. . .was taken from him at a motel in Mississippi" on April 2. Within seconds of the April 4 King assassination, Ray's rifle, wrapped in its leather case, was dropped at the murder scene in a bundle of Ray's belongings.

James Earl Ray had come to the Memphis rooming house on that fateful day, for what Raoul had hyped as a gun-smuggling operation that would make Ray rich. "Raoul told me he was going to meet this gunrunner at 6 p.m. and that the gunrunner would speak more freely if I was not there (in the rooming house). Raoul gave me $200 and told me to go downtown and see a picture show."

Although Raoul had told Ray to leave his Mustang parked out front, Ray took the car to pump-up a low tire, figuring he'd have enough time to return by the designated hour of six.

This writer has the name of Ray's alibi witness, a Black gas-station attendant who filled Ray's tire at about 6 p.m., three blocks from

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Sen. Church: "Hard Evidence" Links C.I.A. To Foreign Assassinations

(Washington, D.C.) — Senator Frank Church, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Investigating Committee, revealed last week that he had "hard evidence" implicating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in more than one plot to assassinate a foreign political leader.

Senator Church, at a breakfast meeting with reporters, also attacked Vice President Nelson Rockefeller's claim that the CIA had only committed minor violations. Earlier in the week, the Rockefeller Commission, appointed by President Ford, released its five-month study which concluded that the CIA had engaged in no widespread illegal activities.

Commenting on the CIA assassination plots, an angry Senator Church said that although he does not know who may have



FIDEL CASTRO

ordered such plots, "I don't care who may have ordered it. Murder is murder..."

The Rockefeller Commission reached its scandalous conclusion — which smacks of another Watergate cover-up — despite extensive revelations over recent months that the CIA has violated its charter by establishing massive domestic surveillance. The National Security Act of 1947 limits CIA activities to foreign intelligence.

In addition, in recent weeks there have been numerous reports clearly pointing to several CIA attempts to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Rockefeller told a press conference that "There are things that have been done which are in

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GUINIER: "HARVARD ADMINISTRATION UNDERMINES BLACK STUDIES"

The overt racism of American education has been strenuously protested by Black people throughout their history in this country. In the conclusion of a scathing statement to the Harvard University Board of Overseers, Professor Ewart Guinier, chairman of Harvard's Afro-American Studies Department, warns that Black people "intend to win (the) struggle" for quality education in America, and will continue to fight racist attempts to undermine past gains of the Black college campus community.

CONCLUSION

Developments such as those outlined above — the unusual degree of bile animating the criticisms of the department by Harvard faculty together with institutional moves which threaten to subvert our best eforts — led the chairman of the department to conclude that the time for silence had ceased, that it was time publicly to mount a systematic defense of Afro-American Studies at Harvard.

The decision, specifically, to confront Martin Kilson in written and face-to-face debate was one of the wisest I have made since coming to Harvard, for it had the happy effect of recharging, as it were, members of the department while serving as a catalyst in the revival of Black student interest in and, more importantly, support for Afro-American Studies at Harvard.

CONGENIAL BY-PRODUCT

An unexpected and congenial by-product of the exchange has been growing awareness on our part that the department and the Black community at Harvard must be prepared, if need be, to fight every step of the way — out in the sunlight where all sides of questions can be closely investigated — for those values that will serve the interests of our people. In a word, these defenses of the department have helped to revive momentum that at one time seemed to have been lost.

Before we close, attention should be drawn to the main problem confronting Afro-American Studies at Harvard: not institutional moves to disembowel the original plan for a DuBois Institute; not efforts to bar our staff from the mostly lily-White university-wide committees; not the University's refusal to insulate the department from persistent criticism—rather, our most deadly threat is of a related but somewhat different order:

The University refuses to acknowledge that the Afro-American Studies Department has needs which go beyond those of traditional departments. The University refuses to acknowledge this although the record fairly groans with evidence of the White supremacist, ethnocentric character of the oldest, most distinguished Harvard departments.

Why is the struggle for Black Studies at Harvard so crucial? Because here one encounters the high priests of White supremacy and class privilege. And here the academic leadership has abandoned any pretense of manners, of courtesy, of civility in relating to the Afro-American Studies Department. As these leaders face the department, it is clear that their intent is to hold Black people up to ridicule and humiliation and, finally, to isolate and to pistol whip us into submission as the entire Harvard Community watches. Once and for all they want to teach us a lesson, to show us our place.

But we refuse to be there: we refuse to bow down in fear. We refuse to allow an institution which aided in the enslavement of our forefathers and today invests in the blood of our people in South Africa to debase us into embracing so withered a conception of our humanity. For Harvard does not represent the ideal projection of human possibilities.





Black Youth are systematically miseducated from elementary school to the college level.

We have caught another vision — a vision informed especially by the deep humanity and genius of DuBois and Paul Robeson — two of the most remarkable men of the modern era. Yet neither was considered good enough to teach at Harvard. Why? How can we permit those who regarded both men as "niggers" unfit to teach at Harvard to define for our children what qualities of mind and character constitute being educated and free and humane? Such a capitulation would be a new and deadly form of slavery — and we want no part of that whatsoever.

VICTORY

Finally, we intend to win this struggle. If we win at Harvard, there will be possibilities for victory in this field all over the country. If we falter, the setback can only be temporary, for our struggle is tied inextricably to the destiny of a great people. So whatever the blows we have no choice in the matter: Our only response can be new bursts of energy and new demands until we, as a people, play a decisive role in shaping our destiny and the destiny of the world.□

Survival

Through

Unity

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE by Huey P. Newton

A Way Of Liberation

PART 2

Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, was convicted of voluntary manslaughter in September, 1968. He spent 22 months at the California Men's Colony in San Luis Obispo before the Appellate Court of California reversed his conviction. After two more trials ended in hung juries, the state of California dismissed all charges against him.

In Part 2 of a series excerpted from his insightful political autobiography, Brother Huey discusses his own prison experiences as an example of a Black man who emerged from the degrading and psychologically destructive penal system with a spirit and determination "forged into steel by the very conditions which sought to crush him."

Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades hav a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death. We will have to be driven out with a stick.

Che Guevara said that to a revolutionary death is the reality and victory the dream. Because the revolutionary lives so dangerously, his survival is a miracle. Bakunin, who spoke for the most militant wing of the First International, made a similar statement in his Revolutionary Catechism. To him, the first lesson a revolutionary must learn is that he is a doomed man. Unless he understands this, he does not grasp the essential meaning of his life.

CUBAN REVOLUTION

When Fidel Castro and his small band were in Mexico preparing for the Cuban Revolution, many of the comrades had little understanding of Bakunin's rule. A few hours before they set sail, Fidel went from man to man asking who should be notified in case of death. Only then did the deadly seriousness of the revolution hit home. Their struggle was no longer romantic. The scene had been exciting and animated; but when the simple, overwhelming question of death arose, everyone fell silent.

Many so-called revolutionaries in this country, Black and White, are not prepared to accept this reality. The Black Panthers are not suicidal; neither do we romanticize the consequences of revolution in our lifetime. Other so-called revolutionaries cling to an illusion that they might have their revolution and die of old age. That cannot be.

I do not expect to live through our revolution, and most serious comrades probably share my realism. Therefore, the expression "revolution in our lifetime" means something different to me than it does to other people who use it. I think the revolution will grow in my lifetime, but I do not expect to enjoy its fruits. That would be a contradiction. The reality will be grimmer.

I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism, reactionary intercommunalism — reactionary suicide. The people will win a new world. Yet when I think of individuals in the revolution, I cannot predict their survival. Revolutionaries must accept this fact, especially the Black revolutionaries in America, whose lives are in constant danger from the evils of a colonial society. Considering how we must live, it is not hard to accept the concept of revolutionary suicide. In this we are different from white radicals. They are not faced with genocide.

MICROCOSM

The greater, more immediate problem is the survival of the entire world. If the world does not change, all its people will be threatened by the greed, exploitation, and violence of the power structure in the American empire. The handwriting is on the wall. The United States is jeopardizing its own existence and the existence of all humanity. If Americans knew the disasters that lay ahead, they would transform this society tomorrow for their own preservation. The Black Panther Party is in the vanguard of the revolution that seeks to relieve this country of its crushing burden of guilt. We are determined to establish true equality and the means for creative work.

Some see our struggle as a symbol of the trend toward suicide among Blacks. Scholars and academics, in particular, have been quick to make this accusation. They fail to perceive differences. Jumping off a bridge is not the same thing as moving to wipe out the overwhelming force of an oppressive army. When scholars call our actions suicidal, they should be logically consistent and describe all historical revolutionary movements in the same way.

Thus the American colonists, the French of the late eighteenth century, the Russians of 1917, the Jews of Warsaw, the Cubans, the NLF, the North Vietnamese—any people who struggle against a brutal and powerful force—are suicidal. Also, if the Black Panthers symbolize the suicidal trend among Blacks, then the whole Third World is suicidal, because the Third World fully intends to resist and overcome the ruling class of the United



Brother Huey was falsely imprisoned in the late 1960s.

States. If scholars wish to carry their analysis further, they must come to terms with that four-fifths of the world which is bent on wiping out the power of the empire.

In those terms the Third World would be transformed from suicidal to homicidal, although homicide is the unlawful taking of life, and the Third World is involved only in defense. Is the coin then turned? Is the government of the United States suicidal? I think so.

With this redefinition, the term "revolutionary suicide" is not as simplistic as it might seem initially. In coining the phrase, I took two knowns and combined them to make an unknown, a neoteric phrase in which the word "revolutionary" transforms the word "suicide" into an idea that has different dimensions and meanings, applicable to a new and complex situation.

My prison experience is a good example of revolutionary suicide in action, for prison is a microcosm of the outside world. From the beginning of my sentence I defied the authorities by refusing to cooperate; as a result, I was confined to "lock-up," a solitary cell. As the months passed and I remained steadfast, they came to regard my behavior as suicidal. I was told that I would crack and break under the strain. I did not break, nor did I retreat from my position. I grew strong.

If I had submitted to their exploitation and done their will, it would have killed my spirit and condemned me to a living death. To cooperate in prison meant reactionary suicide to me. While solitary confinement can be physically and mentally destructive, my actions were taken with an understanding of the risk. I had to suffer through a certain situation;

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CANDIDATE FOR '76 CONGRESS

TOM HAYDEN: FIRST REAL SENATE ALTERNATIVE TO POWER STRUCTURE IN CALIFORNIA

With the announcement by Tom Hayden on June 2 at San Francisco International Airport that he will enter the June, 1976, Democratic Party primary as a candidate for the U.S. Senate, the people of California are at last being given a real alternative to the controlled, machine politics of giant corporate interests in this state and in the country.

Tom Hayden, 35, was born in Detroit, Michigan. He has been a resident of California for eight years. He is married and the father of two children. Since 1971, Tom Hayden has been national coordinator and chief spokesman and activist of the Indochina Peace Campaign. He was instrumental in the birth and leadership of the 1960s student movement and is a community organizer. He has published five books, numerous articles and has taught at colleges in California, New Jersey and Michigan. He has lectured at colleges and high schools throughout the country.

THE BLACK PANTHER here reprints the complete text of Tom Hayden's announcement statement.

"For two months I have been exploring with friends and associates, all over California, the possibility of running for the U.S. Senate in 1976. I promised I would decide by the beginning of June, and I have.

"I will enter the June, 1976, Democratic Party primary as a candidate for the United States Senate. As of today, I and others with me intend to build the kind of organization which can make a winning campaign possible.

"I will travel the state listening to the grievances and demands of local people and grass-roots organizations in preparing a concrete program reflecting their hope for a better society.

"John Tunney is the symbol of the packaged politician; he is more image than substance. He is a person who follows the trend of opinion rather than leading the search for new directions. He is more responsive to the corporate interests who do the packaging than to the public.

A DECADE LATE

"Tunney was nearly a decade late in opposing the Indochina war. Today he continues to support Cold War policies and assumptions when we need new initiatives for peace. On domestic issues, Tunney is allied with the corporate giants. Unlike Tunney, I will not take campaign contributions from a Gallo or a Northrup. I support the struggle of the United Farmworkers Union and Cesar Chavez, while for a decade my opponent has supported the agribusiness interests. Most outrageous is his present service to the oil companies and the Republican Party in their effort to take price regulation off natural gas. Ralph Nader says such a move will "make the oil companies richer and the consumer poorer" to a tune of $50 billion in the next five years alone.



Radical activist TOM HAYDEN, accompanied by wife, actress JANE FONDA, announces candidacy for U.S. Senate.

"I begin as an underdog, but I always have. As a student activist, in the early 60s, an organizer in urban slums in the mid-60s, an anti-war activist for a decade, even as a journalist and teacher, I have learned that the impossible can become the achievable, with patience, hard work and unshakeable conviction. *The radicalism of the 60s is fast becoming the common sense of the 70s.* With this campaign, I am dedicating myself to see that this common sense prevails in the councils of government. I ask all Californians who feel a lack of representation in government to join in this effort.

"Only a great citizens' campaign can restore public interest as the central goal of government. This campaign will go beyond criticism to constructive proposals and solutions. In the months ahead, we will develop specific policies in the following areas:

"1. We need to *extend the Bill of Rights*, originally written to protect us against the power of government, to now protect our people against the encroachment of arbitrary economic power.

"2. We must guarantee every *citizen's right to a decent job* at a decent wage, and do away with the notion that unemployment is a necessary part of our economic system. People ought to be guaranteed quality *health care*, quality *housing*, quality *child care*, and quality *transportation* as basic rights of citizenship.

"3. We need *public participation in economic planning*, which involves consumers, workers, managers and technicians — in setting our overall priorities and the use of our resources.

"4. We need to generate a great public debate on ways to *bring the big banks and*

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WHO IS TOM HAYDEN?

1971-75: NATIONAL COORDINATOR, INDOCHINA PEACE CAMPAIGN.

Based in Los Angeles, the IPC has approximately 40 chapters across the U.S. Its main focus has been to build a broad campaign to pressure Congress to cut aid to the Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes.

IN 1972, with Jane Fonda and others, Hayden spoke against the war in 90 cities during the Presidential election period.

IN FALL, 1973, with Jane Fonda, former POW Bob Chenoweth and former Saigon prisoner Jean-Pierre Debris, Hayden spoke in 40 cities against aid to the Indochina regimes.

IN EARLY 1974, Hayden was involved in lobbying efforts in Washington against further aid to the war. He met with over 50 members of the House and Senate, and taught a four-week class on Indochina to Congressional aides.

IN SPRING, 1974, Hayden and Fonda were in North and South Vietnam to make an hour documentary, "Introduction to the Enemy."

IN JANUARY, 1975, Hayden was one of the principal speakers at the 5,000-person national Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement in Washington, D.C.

IN SPRING, 1975, Hayden and others lobbied intensively, testified before Congress, and spoke around the U.S. against President Ford's request for "emergency supplemental aid."

A DECADE OF ANTI-WAR ACTIVITY:

Besides long years of organizing protests against the war, Hayden has written two books and innumerable articles on Indochina and has lectured at several universities on the subject. He has traveled to North Vietnam, parts of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos four times since 1965: to view the situation, to write, to make films. He was the intermediary in the first release of American POWs in 1967, and several times thereafter. He was qualified as an expert witness on the "confidential" negotiations volumes by U.S. Judge Matthew Byrne during the Pentagon Papers Trial. He testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after interviewing "Khmer Rouge" leaders in Paris, Spring, 1975.

1968-71: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITE HOUSE REPRESSION.

In 1968, Hayden was a coordinator of the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.

In 1969, in the first of the major Nixon-era indictments, Hayden and seven others (including Black Panther Party co-founder Bobby Seale) were charged with conspiracy in Chicago, and were tried before Judge Hoffman from September, 1969, to February, 1970. Hayden was acquitted of conspiracy, convicted of incitement, and had the conviction reversed by the 7th Circuit because of misconduct attributed to the judge and prosecutors. The case was dropped. Hayden was also convicted of contempt by Judge Hoffman, but was acquitted on all counts in the 1973 contempt retrial by Judge Gignoux in Chicago.

During the same years, Hayden resided in Berkeley where he was active in the anti-war movement, the counter-culture, and the 1971 Berkeley elections.

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WHITE REVIEWERS CAN'T ACCEPT TRUTH

"MANDINGO": Sex And Violence In Plantation South Are Historical Fact

The film MANDINGO is a powerful, uncompromising, largely accurate portrayal of the degrading effects of the slave system on those who kept slaves in the American South. It is also the first effort by a major U.S. studio to chronicle the great variety of forms of ennobling resistance used by the slaves in their unending struggle for freedom and to maintain their human dignity.

For both reasons most White reviewers for the establishment press and media are denouncing this extraordinary film. They condemn its "excessive violence" out of their ignorance and/or rejection of the bestiality widely used against the slaves by the slave owners. Their racism compels them to resent, reject and ignore the truth, historically established, that sexual interaction between the White slave owners and the slaves was as common as eating and drinking.

MANDINGO is one of those rare Hollywood efforts that incorporate sex and violence consistent with historical fact to convey truth. But, MANDINGO's truth is a truth most White reviewers and the establishment media wish to ignore; it is a truth that the capitalist-controlled opinion makers in the U.S. have deliberately and consistently lied about.

There is nothing cheap, vulgar or unbelievable about the sex and violence in MANDINGO, except to those who deny Black people dignity, self-respect and the capacity for universal human strivings; to those that deny White people's capacity to be vicious, petty, crude and insensitive as well as noble. As it is often said to justify the recent flood of Black-exploitation films: "This, too, is reality," a reality left out of the history books.

SLAVE TRADER

From the opening scene of a slave trader inspecting a group of slaves for purchase in the way a horse trader would inspect a lot of horses, to the devastating and violent final scene in which the prized Mandingo slave, Mede, is shot and falls thrashing into the giant pot of boiling water prepared for him, the viewer is captured and held by this compelling film and its cast of real-life characters.

These are Hammond (Perry King), the almost sympathetic son of an old guard, tradition-ridden, plantation father (James Mason); Mede (Ken Norton), the prized Mandingo slave; Ellen (Brenda Sykes), a slave girl that becomes Hammond's lover and Hammond's wife (Susan George), who by threat seduces Mede.

Each of these characters is caught up in a system and a way of life over which they have little control. The strappling, slightly crippled Hammond is of an age when he should marry a virtuous White "lady" with money to provide an heir to carry on the family's name and to expand the family's holdings. His initial resistance is overcome when his father assures him that he can continue to have his slave "girls" even after marriage.

DEFLOWERED

The cousin found for Hammond to marry turns out to have been already deflowered by her own brother. Her denial and refusal to tell Hammond who was responsible drives Hammond out of her bed on their wedding night and ultimately into the arms and affections of the beautiful Ellen. He is tender and caring with Ellen and she responds in kind.

Hammond's affection for his father is real. To please him he finds the magnificent Mandingo slave, Mede, at a slave market, buys him and brings him home to train him to fight a giant slave from a nearby plantation for the amusement of the slaves and their women.

Mede is willing and loyal, to the point of joining the slavers' hunt for a runaway slave. A moment of truth for Mede comes when he catches the slave apart from the hunters and is convinced to let him go when the slave angrily reminds him that he is acting like a dog told by its masters "go fetch" against his brother. But it is too late. The hunters arrive on the scene and capture the slave.

Surely one of the great, classic scenes in American film history follows as the crowd of White slavers prepare the runaway for hanging. He spots Mede in the crowd as he is being hoisted on to the horsecart and the rope is being placed around his neck. He condemns Mede for allowing him to be caught and for "helpin' the dirty peckerwoods," and then turns his venom on the crowd, defiant and unafraid, shouting a string of curses and condemnations that ends: "All you peckerwoods, KISS MY ASS!" as the cart is driven out from under him.

Hammond's continued rejection of his wife and his involvement with Ellen drives the wife to drink and desperation. Following a pattern still used throughout the South today, she seduces Mede by threatening to tell her husband that Mede raped her if he does not sleep with her. He does, four times, and impregnates her. Through subterfuge she gets her husband into bed with her and then announces she is with child.

The child, much anticipated by Hammond and his father, is born Black. Hammond's father orders that its umbilical cord be untied and it be left to bleed to death. Hammond is told the child was born dead, but he discovers the truth, gives his wife poison and orders the pot of boiling water for Mede. Mede refuses to strip and get into the water. Hammond shoots him. Mede pleads that Hammond does not know what really happened. Hammond shoots him a second time and Mede falls into the boiling water.

Watching in horror, the old, "faithful" house slave, who throughout the film acted the "Tom" before the master while among the slaves encouraged resistance and flight to



Hammond (played by PERRY KING) is "tender" with his Black "wench" Ellen (BRENDA SYKES).

freedom, takes up the gun thrown aside by Hammond, shoots and kills Hammond's father and runs away. Hammond, unbelieving, numb with the shock of grief of the tragedy, sits dazed beside the body of his father as the film ends.

MANDINGO is no hastily thrown together film. Much money was spent on it and serious research produced the authentic plantation, slave quarters and auction block sets. The acting is top flight, particularly that of Perry King in the difficult role of Hammond, Susan George as the flighty yet hard-willed and desperate young wife and, of course, James Mason as the father. Brenda Sykes as Ellen was beautiful and properly demure in an untacking role. Ken Norton looked the role of the magnificent Mandingo but wisely was required to say little.

Everyone associated with MANDINGO is to be congratulated. The power structure will kill MANDINGO if it can, so go see it. □

Tom Hayden

corporations to public accountability. Congress should begin hearings as thoroughgoing and open as the Watergate hearings on alternatives to private economic monopoly.

"5. We need a *national energy policy which is not controlled by vast corporate monopolies.* These giants escalate their profits and their stranglehold on our natural resources, while the energy consuming public is overcharged and undersupplied. The time has come to insist that the multi-national oil companies bow before the needs of public consumption, rather than narrow corporate profit.

"6. We need to consider new *competitive public enterprises* in the energy and banking fields which can provide real alternatives and a yardstick for competition with powerful private corporations.

"7. We need to achieve *tax justice* by closing the massive loopholes of the superrich companies and individuals who pay less in taxes than our average families. This tax restructuring alone would provide billions of dollars which could be used for public service jobs.

"8. We need greater *community control* of such institutions as utilities and *workers control* over such vital areas as occupational health and safety, where tens of thousands are killed, injured or taken ill every year.

"9. We need a *humanistic foreign policy* which genuinely serves people's needs the world around, instead of propping up dictatorships which serve multi-national corporate interests.

"10. We need a *democratic political process* designed to involve, educate and serve peole, instead of one polluted by corporate contributions, manipulative advertising and secret police tactics.

"The root cause of our problems is that we have so little power over our lives. Where there is no power, there is no dignity, no hope, no sense of direction. Our lives and future are dominated by the vast power of the big banks and corporations linked to a government which serves special interests rather than the public interest. One per cent of America controls over 50 per cent of all corporate stock. Only 50 commercial banks own one-half of this country's deposits and two-thirds of its stocks in trust. A mere 200 manufacturing corporations own two-thirds of our national manufacturing assets.

"People like the chairman of ITT and EXXON get $800,000 annual salaries while the average real wages of working people are slipping. And some of these giants pay less percentage in taxes on their income than the average family. As they become multinational, these same giants further escape the tax and regulatory mechanisms of the government. It is this superconcentration of private and profit-oriented economic power whch is responsible for both inflation and unemployment, for the energy crisis, and for the corruption of our government through large campaign contributions and other forms of manipulation.

"We do not have to retreat from the world nor live less well. But we have to live by more positive values than profit, and develop new priorities and new institutions to serve those values. We need a burst of social action and imagination that has not been seen since the early New Deal. The real energy crisis is in our



BPINS photo

TOM HAYDEN

waste of human potential: millions of Americans out of work, millions of others frustrated by the knowledge that they can accomplish much more than society now permits. While we need to conserve the energy which fuels our overdeveloped economy, we need to tap the underdeveloped human energy which alone can create a better America."□

WHO IS TOM HAYDEN?

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1964-68: COMMUNITY ORGANIZING.

Hayden lived in Newark, New Jersey—active as an organizer in the ghetto—as part of a national organizing project among the White and Black poor. Hayden organized tenants and unemployed workers and participated in the poverty program.

1960-64: BIRTH OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT.

Hayden was editor of the Michigan Daily in Ann Arbor where he graduated in political science. He also was a member of student government and attended the National Student Association congresses of 1960-61-62.

In 1961, he went South for two years to work in the civil rights movement. He lived in Atlanta, wrote several articles and pamphlets, was beaten and arrested in Mississippi and Georgia.

From 1961 to 1964, he was a founder and leader of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Hayden authored the first draft of the 1962 SDS Port Huron Statement, worked in the South, and attended the University of Michigan graduate school during this period.

His first anti-war demonstration was in 1963, against the coming of Madame Nhu, sister of President Ngo Dinh Diem, to Ann Arbor.

WRITING:

Hayden is a contributing editor of Rolling Stone magazine. In the past year he has written pieces on Governor Jerry Brown, Henry Kissinger's Indochina policy, an interview with Presidential candidate Fred Harris, an analysis of the Soviet Union, and a final editorial on the end of the Indochina war.

He has written five books: "The Other Side" (with Staughton Lynd) 1966, (New American Library), on the Vietnam war; "Rebellion in Newark" (Random House) 1967; "Rebellion and Repression" (World) 1968; "Trial" (Holt) 1970; "The Love of Possession Is a Disease with Them" (Holt) 1972, a comparison of the Indochina war with the American Indian wars.

Hayden has written hundreds of articles for newspapers, magazines and college anthologies, including Rolling Stone, New York Times, Ramparts, Mademoiselle, Studies on the Left, Boston Globe, Los Angeles Times, Dissent, Newsday, New York Review of Books. He won a social science research prize in 1963 for a study of military-industrial attitudes.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Pitzer-Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California, 1972.
UCLA Experimental College, 1972.
Immaculate Heart College, Dept. of History, Los Angeles, California, 1971.
UC Berkeley Experimental College, 1969.
Rutgers University, Newark, Adult Education, 1967.
Graduate research, Mental Health Research Institute, Conflict Resolution Center, Ann Arbor, 1963.
University of Michigan, teaching assistant, 1963.

In addition, Hayden has lectured at hundreds of colleges and high schools.

Free The San Quentin 6

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sense of being tyrannized. Such negative reactions can only be counter productive even from the prison's vantage point of security. Tightened security to guard against the prisoners' reactions to the frustrations inherent in the visiting process, starts the circle of repression and reaction whirling.

LEGAL VISITATIONS

Retained in the Adjustment Center because of the seriousness of the crimes of which they are accused, most in need of access to their attorneys, the plaintiffs enjoy the least convenient contact with their counsel. Attorneys Garry and Hiestand, as well as the plaintiffs themselves, detailed the inconveniences and obstructions which make effective representation impossible during the federal court hearing.

Since plaintiffs may visit in only one of two rooms reserved for first tier Adjustment Center prisoners, attorneys compete for the visiting rooms with friends and relatives of all prisoners on the first tier; potential waits of four hours and more deter attorneys from even making the trip to San Quentin, at least a half-hour from their offices in the city. Inability to schedule attorney-client conferences, in advance, except by court order, prevents attorney planning, and requires attorneys to set a full day aside for a visit to San Quentin.

The room itself is feared bugged; prisoners, mindful that their conversations can be overheard by the supervising guard poised over their shoulders, refuse to engage in discussions of sensitive subjects. The prisoners' fears gain substance from their knowledge that guards have eavesdropped on attorney-prisoner conferences in those rooms and have reported the substance of the conversations to superiors.

They have also copied down written messages and communications held up to the glass by the prisoner and the attorney so as to circumscribe the guard's ability to hear. These too they have passed along to superiors. That the supervising guard can hear confidential communications was affirmed by ex-guard Whitney, even though he did not particularly want to listen to them.

TO BE CONTINUED

Intercommunal News

U.S., U.K., France Veto U.N. Sanctions Against South Africa

(United Nations, N.Y.) — The U.S., France and Great Britain last week vetoed a resolution sponsored by Black African nations of the United Nations (U.N.) Security Council calling for tougher reprisals by the world body against South Africa for its refusal to give up its illegal rule of Namibia (South West Africa.)

Ten nations voted for the resolution which recommended that the Security Council impose mandatory sanctions against South Africa, including an embargo on arms and trade. The veto by the three Western powers was the second triple veto in U.N. history. Last October, the U.S., France and Britain teamed up to defeat a resolution initiated by Black African countries to expel South Africa from the U.N. because of its strict apartheid (racial segregation) policy.

The U.S., France and Great Britain have close economic ties with the racist South African



regime and were expected to oppose the Africa-sponsored resolution on sanctions. The three countries claim that South Africa has made progress, however little, in meeting U.N. demands on Namibia.

Bordering South Africa, Namibia is a former German colony. South Africa was given a mandate by the League of Nations in 1920 to administer Namibia. However, the U.N. has repeatedly directed South Africa to withdraw from the territory so that majority rule may be established.

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POLICE KILL 13 IN "FREE ZIMBABWE" PROTEST



Police charged with dogs and later shot into a crowd during "Free Zimbabwe" rally of 2,000 Blacks in Salisbury, the capital city in Rhodesia.

(New York, N.Y.) — Bishop Abel Muzorewa, the president of the African National Council (ANC) of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) said here on June 2 that the killing of Africans by police in Salisbury the previous day was "cold blooded murder" by the racist, White minority regime of Ian Smith.

He added that neither the organization he heads nor the people of his country would be "forced to negotiate by ultimatums, police dogs or massacres." He said they would not submit to blackmail nor accept terms not consistent with the policy of majority rule."

ACCURATE DETAILS

Bishop Muzorewa was referring to a police riot that erupted in Salisbury during which a total of 13 Africans were killed, 28 wounded and 37 arrested. Accurate details of the incident have not yet been made available to THE BLACK PANTHER. But U.S. news media accounts placed the blame on "rioting Africans" and fighting between elements of "splintered Black nationalist groups."

First reports printed here said the incident began when a member of a rival group was "thrown out of a window" during an extended executive committee meeting of the African National Council. Two days later it was reported that the individual "may have accidently fallen from the window."

New York Times reports contain a clue of the truth of what probably happened. In the issue of June 2, it carries a *Reuters* report from Salisbury stating that, "Rival factions of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) began fighting and stoning passing cars.

"Riot policemen with dogs broke up the fighting and for several hours peace was restored. But the crowd grew and at about 4 p.m. policemen opened fire with pistols.

"The rioters had been taunting the police with chants of 'Zimbabwe shall be free' and 'ZANU has decided on liberation to free Zimbabwe' ...At first, only blank ammunition and tear gas were used, but then live ammunition was fired."

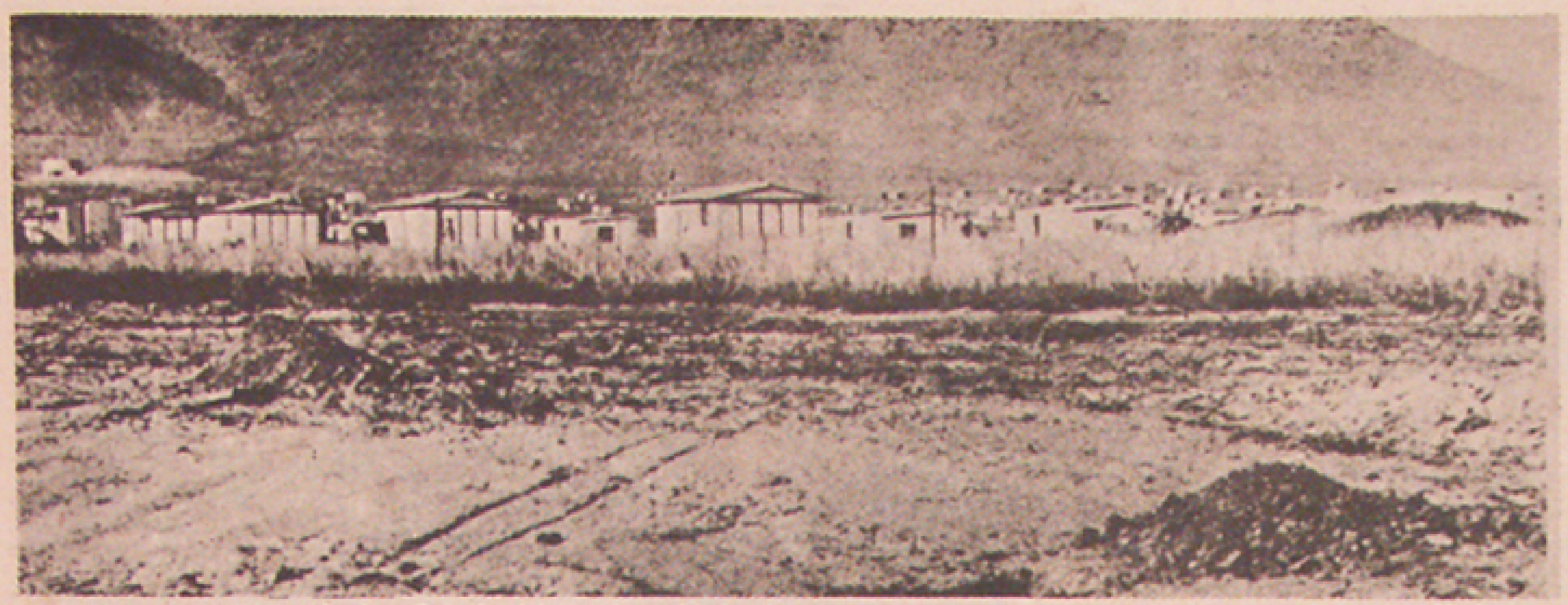
Eight Africans were killed in the initial police assault on a crowd of more than 2,000, producing righteous anger and resentment among the Africans who retaliated by stoning cars and attacking shops in non-Black parts of the city. Police set up roadblocks on all access roads leading to the African townships and during the night five more Africans were killed and others wounded.

Meanwhile, the secretary general of the African National Council, Gordon Chavunduka, is reported by *The Times of London* as having said on June 3, that the Smith regime had dropped its demands for a ceasefire in the guerrilla war before preparatory talks on African majority rule.

In turn, Chavunduka told the British newspaper, the ANC has agreed not to insist on the release of detainees. Dr. Chavunduka is reported to have said at a news conference in Salisbury that a decision to drop all conditions for preliminary talks had been made at the last meeting between representatives of the ANC and Ian Smith.

Opposition to any ceasefire prior to talks and the release of all political detainees were demands pushed hardest by ZANU among

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A "township" in Sada, South Africa in which the men of the town are kept in a "Reserve" for recruitment as migrant labourers.

APARTHEID AND THE AFRICAN WORKER: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

". . .Change in the real sense — change that provides the African with meaningful control over his own labor — will require no less than the dismantling of the entire apartheid system." So writes Susan Rodgers, a research associate for Africa Fund and adjunct professor of African history at the City College of New York. Dr. Rodgers received her Ph.D. from the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania in 1973. In the following article, a United Nations document, Dr. Rodgers examines the current and historical status of the African working class of South Africa dominated by White minority rule.

PART I

In order to maintain a clear view of the realities of apartheid through the smoke screen of "change-oriented" speeches that have recently come from the mouths of prominent South African officials, it is perhaps more necessary than ever to focus directly on the subject of what "change" can and cannot mean in the context of a society dedicated to the maintenance and reinforcement of White political and economic supremacy.

In particular, we intend to ask what "change" has meant and can possibly mean for South Africa's Black workers, and by extension, for the 82 per cent of South Africa's population their earnings must nurture.

For while it is the apartheid structure that assures White supremacy in South Africa, it is the absolute and complete control and regulation of the labor of the Black majority that provides the scaffolding on which the South African economy is erected; and it is that economy that allows White South Africans to remain powerful and to enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world.

Like the vote, this standard of living is "for Whites only," who number less than 4 million and supply only 20 per cent of South Africa's economically active population. Seven out of 10 workers in South Africa are Africans. They constitute 90 per cent of the work force in agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining; 65 per cent in electricity, gas and water; 67 per cent in services, and 60 per cent in construction.

While Black Africans contribute over two-thirds of South Africa's labor force, White workers earn on the average eight times as much as their Black fellow workers. Even if one views this as a skilled-unskilled wage gap, the differential in industrialized economies elsewhere in the world is 1.41. In 1971, the ratio of African to European per capita was 1 to 20. This is not an accident. It results from the elaboration and extension of a complex web of apartheid policies, regulations, laws and White "custom" over which African workers have no control and which they have been almost powerless to influence in any way.

ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF WORKERS

The expansion, diversification and industrialization of the South African economy during the 20th century, and particularly since World War II, far from bringing any improvement in the position of African workers, has seen the steady erosion of the few tenuous rights they once exercised and hence of their ability to affect change peacefully. Even a partial listing of legislation dealing directly with the African as a worker makes awesome reading.

For example, the Native Labor Regulation Act of 1911 and the Bantu Labor Act of 1964 imposes a contract labor system on African workers. The Native Land Act of 1913 and the Bantu Trust and Land Act of 1936 deny Africans the right to own land. The Mines and Works Acts of 1911 and the Apprenticeship Act of 1944 closes training opportunities for Africans and other non-Europeans. The Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 sets up "influx control" machinery and an "endorsement out" system for Africans in conjunction with pass laws, i.e., reference books issued under the Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act of 1952.

RIGHT TO STRIKE

The Native Labor (Settlement of Disputes) Act of 1953 prohibits registered (hence, officially recognized) trade unions for African workers and denies them the right to strike possessed by White workers. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 prohibits "mixed" trade unions, permitting them only in special cases and where the elected officers are White. The Bantu Laws Amendment of 1964 virtually eliminates the possibility of permanent residence for Africans in areas outside the Bantustans. The Bantu Laws (Physical Planning) Amendment Act of 1970 allows the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and the Minister of Labor to prohibit the employment of Blacks in any job in any area by any employer.

Such legislation, and a myriad of other laws and regulations, suggests the kind of "change" experienced by the African worker in the 20th century and effectively negates standard assumptions regarding the positive relationship between an expanding economy and an improved

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AFRICA IN FOCUS

Kenya

A 15-member select parliamentary committee of Kenya inquiring into the murder of a member of Parliment, Joseph M. Kariuki on March 2, said last week there appeared to be a "massive and determined cover-up campaign" to conceal the facts of the assassination. Kariuki was a very popular opposition leader whose bullet ridden body was found in a lonely thorn-bush area in the Masai tribal reserve. The committee urges removal of top police officials as the only guarantee that the investigation proceed without interference.

Vatican

African drums throbbed in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, Italy, on June 1, as Pope Paul celebrated mass with Catholic church officials from Tanzania and several formerly French-controlled African countries. Hundreds of Holy Year pilgrims from Africa led by Laurean Cardinal Rugambwa, Archbishop of Dar es Salaam, and Paul Cardinal Zoungrana, archbishop of Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, and 13 bishops, were in a vast congregation.

Africa Day

Diplomatic officials of African countries to China gave a grand reception in Peking on May 25 in celebration of the 12th anniversary of Africa Day and the founding of the Organization of African Unity. Cameroon Ambassador to China, Langue-Tsobgny Clement, speaking at the occasion on behalf of the African diplomats said: "No true African can claim to be free until all vestiges of colonialism, in whatever form, have been eliminated from our continent." He added, "We welcome the glorious victories of the valiant Indo-Chinese peoples. We also support the peaceful reunification of the Korean nation. We fully support the People's Republic of China in its efforts to liberate Taiwan and reunite the fatherland."

WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION FORMED

15 Nations Sign Historic Treaty

(Lagos, Nigeria) — An historic treaty was signed here recently by 15 African countries creating the Economic Community of West African States (ECWAS), Africa's largest single economic organization.

The treaty, linking 124 million people in nine French-speaking, one Portuguese-speaking and five English-speaking African countries, was signed by the presidents and top ministers of Dahomey, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta, Mali, Guinea, Senegal and Ghana.

Hsinhua news agency reported that "warm applause burst out in the conference hall" upon the signing of the treaty creating ECWAS.

The preamble of the treaty states that ECWAS has been created because of "the overriding need to accelerate, foster and encourage the economic and social development of (member) states in order to improve the living standards of their peoples."

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

The preamble further states that West African states are "convinced that the promotion of the harmonious economic development of their states calls for effective economic cooperation largely through a determined and concerted policy of self-reliance."

Through ECWAS, member states will cooperate in such fields as industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and also in social and cultural matters concerning raising the standard of living of the people of ECWAS countries.

The formation of ECWAS is expected to play a major role in strengthening mineral rich West Africa's economic bargaining power with the exploiting Western bloc of nations, as well as providing the whole of non-White Africa with increased control over its economic affairs.

Nigerian head of state General Yakubu Gowon chaired the conference and declared in his closing address to the Heads of State and ministers:

"The signing of this treaty should be seen as an important milestone in the process of economic decolonization of the African continent, without which our political independence will remain circumscribed and incomplete."

He added that ECWAS will succeed in uniting West African states despite the efforts of "...those who do not wish Africa well, and those who have ill motives towards us (who) will do all they can to frustrate and confuse the goals and objectives of this community."



Africans daily struggle in unity to rebuild their countries.

DEVELOPMENT FUNDS

ECWAS will set aside development funds to help member states in construction programs and to make up for the losses they may suffer.

Lagos, Nigeria, is expected to be chosen as the site of ECWAS' administrative headquarters.☐

Support Rosie Douglas

(Quebec, Canada) - A Canadian judge has recently ruled that Rosie Douglas, a Black political activist here for the past 10 years, must be deported to his native Dominica homeland in the Caribbean. If deported, Douglas, who has received numerous awards for his valuable community service work, faces death or torture — a book he has written on conditions in Dominica has been banned there as "subversive." The Committee Against Deportation of Rosie Douglas requests that statements supporting Douglas' being allowed to remain in Canada be sent to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, House of Commons, Parliament Building, Ottawa Canada.☐

Petition To Oust South Africa From U.N.

(New York, N.Y.) — A nationwide campaign was launched May 7 to collect one million signatures on a petition to expel South Africa from the United Nations because of the country's racist domestic policies. The campaign is being directed by the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation.

The group hopes to present the million American signatures to the United Nations and the U.S. Congress in September. The drive is an effort to "show the U.N. and the U.S. government that the majority of American people are against racism," states a press release by the Movement.

Last year, the U.N. General Assembly voted 91-22 to ban South Africa from U.N. activity for the year. However, only the 11-member Security Council has the authority to permanently expel a U.N. member. Last year, the U.S., Great Britain and France vetoed the resolution.

For information about the petition and campaign contact the Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 405, New York, N.Y. 10010. Phone (212) 929-5686.

Atmore - Holman Brother

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

play down my participation in the IFA. This I did...There was no testimony in the whole trial that told anything positive about the IFA. I would like to correct this picture.

"The IFA exists to make known the inhumane treatment, the injustices, and the terrible conditions that exist in our prisons. We believe that the people should know the truth...

"I am a part of the struggle of the IFA and the struggle of all poor and oppressed peoples, like myself. We, the People, must use strategy and we must at all times struggle for a complete change for the People. I have faith in our struggle for a better way of life. A complete change is the only way for humane treatment."☐

Recession Killing Black Teenagers' Hopes And Dreams

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2
societal conditions generally and joblessness specifically.

"It's leading to apathy and depression, which is more harmful than physical abuse," said Dr. James P. Comer, associate professor of psychiatry at the Yale University Child Study Center.

"That's what happened in slavery and that's what we've created again in young Blacks and Puerto Ricans."

Some youngsters still come to the city from the South, under the illusive hope that brought the masses of Blacks here in the first place — "more businesses here than down there," as Willie Thompson, 19, put it, as he waited in the State Employment Office in Harlem.

What Mr. Thompson left behind in Orangeburg, S.C., was a situation in which his two oldest brothers were among many Blacks being laid off because of industrial cutbacks, or one in which workers were making a three-day week, or one week on and one week off at the local cotton mill.

Mr. Thompson wants to be a physical education teacher, but he has to make some money to go to school.

Two weeks ago, he heard of a situation in which a young man who was working as a shipping clerk was discharged because he had had no experience and wasn't doing the job.

"The employment agency sent me because I had some experience. But all of them tell you they'll call you in a day's time. I'm still waiting."

Marie Smith, a slightly built 17-year-old who supports herself, spoke of the special problems of being female as well as young and Black.

Last month, she paid $30 to one employment agency on 14th Street. They sent her to Brooklyn, for a job as a seamstress job in a factory, but the employer — told her that the Bronx was too far for her to commute.

"That was three hours and two care fares I wasted because the lady didn't tell him where I lived."

The next place they sent her was an office building where they had an opening for a coffee server she said. "But, as soon as he saw me, he said, 'I wouldn't hire you anyway.' And I was looking presentable."

After wasting $10 on a defunct employment agency, Ms. Smith decided to give up on them. Then, she said:

"The elevator man once told me about a man who needed a receptionist in a garage. I went down and this big old garage was all but empty, with one telephone on the wall.

"He told me to come in, closed the door and locked it and began asking me if I knew how to cook, take things to the laundry. Stuff like that. Then he told me he'd be a good friend. I got out of there, but that man made me cry."

George Grant, who is 19 and a student at John Jay College, had a similar experience at a major department store, where he said "the dude in charge wasn't correct.

"He told me I could get the job if I would be his playmate," he said. "I told him — politely because I wanted the job — that I had a wife and son. And he told me that was all right. He just wanted to share me for a while."

Scheryl Underwood, who lives in the South Bronx, said that the only way she could go to college was through Model Cities and Basic Education Opportunity Grants. But, she, too, has been trying to find a job because she feels insecure relying on government funding.

"Once all the funds stop," she was saying the other day, "that's the end for me." She paused for a moment, then added:

"You know, a diploma had value until all the Blacks and Puerto Ricans started getting them." **TO BE CONTINUED**

WORLD SCOPE

People's China

One of 10 former Nationalist Chinese (Taiwan) officers who had been imprisoned for 26 years by the government of the People's Republic of China committed suicide in Hong Kong after waiting seven weeks for admission to Taiwan. Col. Chang Tieh-Shih, who hanged himself, reportedly left a note saying that he had lost hope of being reunited with his wife, three children and his mother on Taiwan. The 10 men had apparently hoped to be welcomed to Taiwan as former high officers by the Taiwan government but have been ignored so far. All fought with the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek during the Chinese civil war of 1946-49 and were released by China to make the trip to Taiwan.

Tanzania

Stanford University is unwilling to pay the $500,000 in ransom demanded by Zaire guerrillas who have held two Stanford students captive in Tanzania since May 19, a spokesman for the Palo Alto, California, school said last week. Dr. David Hamburg said that the university "certainly would not stand in the way of private individuals who would want to raise funds." The Zaire guerrillas kidnapped three Stanford students and a Dutch woman from a wildlife research station in northwestern Tanzania, and subsequently released one of the students. The guerrillas' demands, which have been rejected by the Tanzanian government, include the $500,000 ransom, the release of Zairinian guerrillas held in Tanzania and arms and supplies.

Ethiopia & Somalia

Over 800,000 people in Ethiopia and Somalia have been affected by drought, and reports state that famine in the area is feared to be worse than that suffered by Ethiopia in 1973. The area worst hit by lack of rain over the last eight months is in the Ogaden region where the two countries share a border. Both the governments of Ethiopia and Somalia are running massive relief programs.

ENTERTAINMENT

It Looks Like Rain

The clouds of despair and hate
drift mutely and defyingly
across the face of the Sun God
Pale.
Dark shadows are cast from
the many cold, uncaring, off-
white cities.
Thunderous voices of a Billion
past Black People echo through
the Valley of the Deaf Beast.
Pale blue eyes peer unquestion-
ingly
upward, but only view images
of skinless, bleached skulls that
once housed other paler blue
eyes.
And then it starts, quick as
lightning, millions of Black rain
drop
warriors descend upon the chalky
white cities, causing a wet, cool,
shiny darkness over the land.
Relentlessly the Black torrents
fall.
Shelter is denied to all that flee
the Ebony deluge.
Now, as the Moon Goddess
Afrique
Rises for all time to come,
billions of multi-colored stars
shine proud and gloriously on a
velvet Black background.
Never again will the heavenly
spheres of color fear the
Brilliance of the Sun God Pale.

—David Littles
Washington, D.C.

RICHARD PRYOR: ADVOCATE OF THE JOY OF SEX


BPINS photo

RICHARD PRYOR (left) and HUEY NEWTON at 1974 Book Party.

Richard Pryor is an extraordinary performer. He makes us howl and educates and inspires us at the same time. He accomplishes this rare feat totally from a Black perspective that speaks of and to all humanity. I came away from his performance last Friday night at Oakland's Paramount Theater a better and wiser person for having been there. Few comedians are so gifted.

In his latest Oakland appearance, before an almost all-Black audience of 3,000 - plus that filled this historic, refurbished movie house, he seemed right at home. He had the enthusiastic, mostly young adult audience with him all the way. It was a marathon performance with Pryor alone on stage for more than an hour without a break.

"FOUL MOUTH"

Richard Pryor is famous and infamous for what some call "his foul mouth" — an integal part of his performance. He is also loved for the vision, commitment and incisiveness of his political comment, particularly as concerns Black life in America. These are his two special assets and he uses them well.

In this reviewer's opinion, Richard Pryor's greatest achievement in a sustained performance as a comedian is his ability to compel his audience to face up to the joy, the humor and delight and the beauty of sexual activity between two human beings.

Richard Pryor is shocking not out of any truth violated, cruelty in his treatment of people or unnatural preoccupation. Sexual activity of every variety is as common and universal as the air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink. In most parts of the so-called developing world, where the blessings (?) of capitalist industrialization don't exist or are at a very low level, sexual activity and attitudes toward it remain natural, fun-loving and unspoiled.

Richard Pryor is "shocking" only because U.S. attitudes and behavior in sexual activity have been conditioned by the heavy-handed Puritan morality of sin and the built-in nature of capitalist exploitation of women as inferior (read passive) receptacles of superior (read aggressive) male pleasure seeking.

Richard Pryor turns all this around. His humor deals with sexual activity in such detail and with such truth that after some time the listener gets caught up in the insights revealed and forgets about the subject as a forbidden one to be dealt with only in the most intimate company. With Pryor we, men and women, laugh at ourselves equally.

Richard Pryor could be more explicit, more detailed. His language could be even more colorful, imaginative and explosive. Free Black speech on this subject is. He is obviously aware of his audience's limitations in confronting and dealing with truly free Black speech on sex, and of the legitimate need to keep working.

He is already well ahead of his time. But his audiences, mostly Black and mostly younger, are fast catching up with him. To maintain the vanguard uniqueness of his art he must stay out there in front.

Pryor ended his performance Friday night with a wonderful display of his vocal acting ability, doing an old man's monologue that was dramatic as well as funny. It is, however, the kind of piece that can be done before any audience. The Paramount audience wanted more of the Pryor they most directly relate to and love. Oakland is that way, Richard. We can handle it.

The Mighty Clouds of Joy gospel group that preceded Pryor, was disappointing. Gospel is perfect introduction or backup for Pryor. But Friday night, the Mighty Clouds gave us something less than the excitement and drive of true gospel. The audience was quite polite to the Mighty Clouds, but clearly unmoved by their performance.□

Foreign Assassinations

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

contradiction to the statutes, but in comparison to the total effort, they are not major."

Asked whether he agreed with the term "massive" that reliable news agencies have used in describing the CIA's domestic spying, Rockefeller said he disagreed with massive but added, "that does not mean there haven't been things done that were wrong."

The vice president claimed that neither President Ford, who was forced by public pressure to appoint the Commission last January in the wake of disclosures of CIA domestic spying, nor the public would be shocked by anything in the eight-member Commission's 350-page report.

"(You are) going to be surprised and pleased by the comprehensive nature of the material that's in here," Rockefeller told reporters.

President Ford will decide if the Commission's findings will be sent to the Justice Department for prosecution. The department would in turn decide whether to prosecute.

According to Rockefeller, the CIA does not know the contents of the Commission's report and will have no say on whether the report will be made public.☐

Walkout Stalemates Program

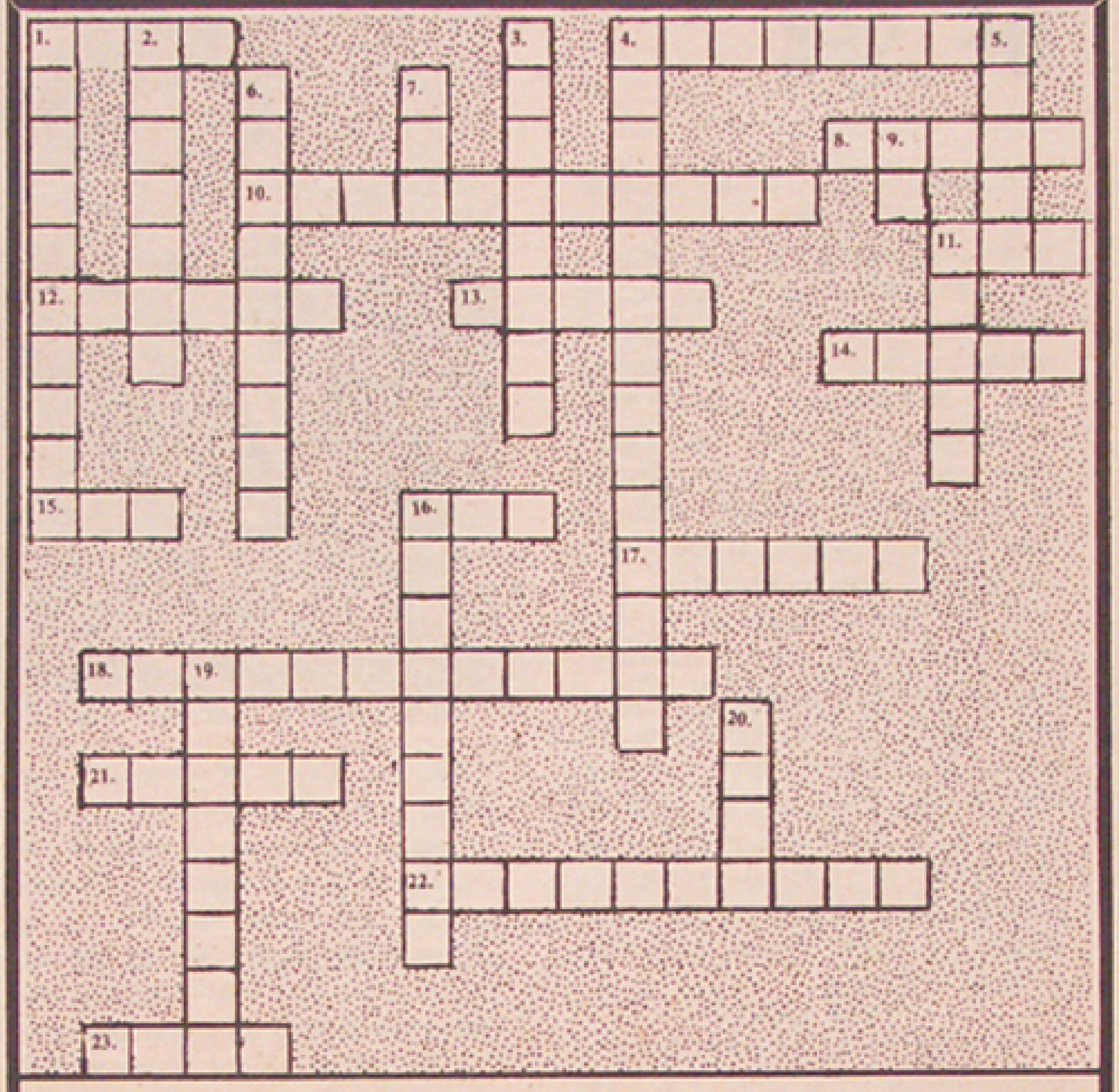
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

"If you don't listen to what these people are telling you," said Nyte Everett, a well known community activist, "we'll protest to Washington and tell them to stop the damn money."

Booker Emery's comments were equally brief and to the point: "If we can't be part of it, then we don't want any of it," said the head of the West Oakland-based BUMP (Blacks United to Motivate Progress) organization. "We know hands have dipped into that money already," he said, as heads in the audience nodded in agreement and open grumbling was heard.

Outside, after the work session was hastily adjourned, spokespeople for the neighborhood boards were adamant in refusing to work with the redevelopment staff. "We have got practically everybody, all the outstanding citizens, in our group," one brother said. "Nobody else will cooperate either."☐

Crossword Puzzle



ACROSS

1. Army of the Republic of Vietnam (S. Vietnam).
4. League for the Independence of Vietnam founded in 1941 with Ho Chi Minh as head. They defeated the French at Dien Bien Phu in 1954.
8. Largest country in Asia. It is home for ¼ of the population of the world.
10. The process of U.S. warfare in Indochina of killing off vegetation in an effort to deprive the liberation forces of bases of operation in the countryside. It leaves the land totally clear of vegetation.
11. Present day leader of People's Democratic Republic of North Korea.
12. ________ and destroy missions were carried out first in Vietnam and later applied by police to U.S.
13. Tokyo is the capital of ________.
14. Asian country divided along the 38th paralled into two countries, North & South. A major war was fought there from 1950-1953.
15. Initials of liberation forces who recently won victory in South Vietnam.
16. Leading member of Chinese Communists; the Great Teacher of the Chinese people.
17. Reactionary island off coast of the People's Republic of China under the rule of the Nationalist Party since 1950.
18. ________ is the process of isolating liberation forces from the masses of people by gathering the population into reactionary controlled areas.
21. The liberation forces in Cambodia who recently liberated that country. The ________ Rouge.
22. Cruel or unjust use of power to dominate a country or to control people consciously or unconsciously.
23. Military strategist who directed Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu. Present Defense Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

DOWN

1. Hostile acts taken with cause against something. To attach without reason is called
2. Southeast Asian country divided in 1954 into two areas. Hanoi is capital in the North and Ho Chi Minh City in the South.
3. Southeast Asian country bordering Laos, Cambodia and Burma whose capital is Bangkok.
4. The process of getting the U.S. forces out of fighting in Vietnam and having Saigon's army do the fighting was called ________ by former President Nixon.
5. Captial of Democratic Republic of Vietnam (N. Vietnam.)
6. The whole area of Southeast Asia under the French was called
7. Pathet
9. Former leader of Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
16. A professional soldier who hires out to a foreign country out of a desire for monetary profit.
19. Phnom Penh is the capital of
20. The only land-locked country in Southeast Asia. It lies between Thailand and Vietnam.

(Answers in next week's issue.)

A Way Of Liberation

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

by doing so, my resistance told them that I rejected all they stood for. Even though my struggle might have harmed my health, even killed me, I looked upon it as a way of raising the consciousness of the other inmates, as a contribution to the ongoing revolution. Only resistance can destroy the pressures that cause reactionary suicide.

The concept of revolutionary suicide is not defeatist or fatalistic. On the contrary, it conveys an awareness of reality in combination with the possibility of hope—reality because the revolutionary must always be prepared to face death, and hope because it symbolizes a resolute determination to bring about change. Above all, it demands that the revolutionary see his death and his life as one piece. Chairman Mao says that death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance: to die for the reactionary is lighter than a feather; to die for the revolution is heavier than Mount Tai.

TO BE CONTINUED

King Assassination: A Conspiracy

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

where the state declares he killed King at 6:01 p.m. As Memphian Chastain told this writer, "In this town, when a Black will defend a White accused of killing Martin Luther King, it takes on some significance."

While the state contends that Ray rented a room in the rooming house, camped in the bathroom, and fired the fatal shot, the evidence is lacking. The man who did rent the room was photographed as he was marched into Sheriff's custody at the scene of the JFK assassination. Nicknamed "Frenchy," he and the other two "tramps" were quietly released by Dallas authorities.

Some researchers believe that Frenchy is Raoul, Ray's contact man. Ray was shown a photograph of the man arrested at JFK's murder site: "He did look similar to the party I was involved with."

Besides planting the patsy's weapon at the scene, Frenchy could have been a look-out from the bathroom window communicating by radio with the rifleman, who was hiding in the thick bushes below.

The actual assassin was very probably Jack Armstrong, the code name of a Secret Team operative.

TO BE CONTINUED

MARTIAL ARTS

Breathing and Action

An understanding and application of the forces of KI (Korean) is essential in not only bringing the individual to the point of unleashing dormant abilities, but to additionally aid in the overall physical development. Essentially, well coordinated breathing rhythms in all human activities are both mental/physical processes that actually draw the already present abilitiesd out of "storage" and direct them in the performance of a give action.

Developing the KI gives/builds a very keen sense of awareness and timing so that an individual "moves his mind to move his body." In other words a person, through coordinated breath control and a reasonable level of physical conditioning can synchronize mental physical movements that may appear to be "supernormal."

One clear, yet difficult, situation to explain that demonstrates the presence and use of KI occurs during fear or anger. Fear or anger trigger an ususal adrenalin flow throughout the body which also affects the breathing rhythms of a person.

Now the adrenalin flow and the breathing rhythms can work with or against an individuals need and ability to perform. When fear and the subsequent adrenalin and KI are released, the mind and muscles of the body can act, almost, instinctively to preserve — safeguard the individual or to immobilize the individuals capacity to preserve himself.

Here, again, the central point involves the individual's will; a coordinating and unifying of drives and already existing physical abilities necessary to perform. During anger, a similar process is in operation, that can unify mind and bodily (muscular) actions in response to circumstances that stimulate that particular emotion.

One point to take note of is that there is already a belief that less than 10 per cent of the brain is utilized in human performance, which may be coordinated with less than 50 per cent of human potential. Developing the KI can increase both of these percentage potentials.

RAYFIELD DUPREE: CHINA TOUR "OUTTA SIGHT"

Black Athletes Tell Of Experiences In People's Republic



The Chinese people willingly work to build their country.

(Oakland, Calif.) - For Brother Rayfield Dupree, the recently concluded 16-day, three meet tour of the People's Republic of China by 96 U.S. track and field athletes was, in his words, "Outta sight."

With four other Black athletes who made the trip—Louis Wilson, Tommy Haines, Al Lanier and Leonard Turner—all currently in the Army, Brother Dupree was in town last weekend to compete in an intraservice meet at Laney College. Interviewed by THE BLACK PANTHER during a break in the longjump competition, Wright was quite outspoken in his praise for the People's Republic.

Commenting on the tour, Brother Dupree said: "Well, it wasn't my world, you know, but a Black person could learn a lot from it, their aspects of life."

Explaining what he meant, Brother Dupree went on, "From my point of view, it seems like we've (Black Americans) been surrounded, brainwashed by a lot of bullshit from the White folks.

"But, over there, they're doing their own thing. Instead of being run by White folks, they're run by their own man, Chairman Mao."

Were you impressed by what you saw, Brother Dupree was asked? His response was affirmative: "I really was. You know how some Black people when they get above, you see them turn against their people. Over there, I saw that when a Chinese person was high (a government or Communist Party official), he was still with his people. I really dug that."

"I believe Black folks are pretty strong, and if they (the Chinese people) can get over like that, we can do the same thing.

"I didn't go over there on any political thing, you know. I just tried to compare Black people's way of living with the Chinese people. If a Black man went over there and learned the different ways to get over, we could be outta sight. I'm not lying. They've got some beautiful shit going on."

STATUE OF BLACK PEOPLE

Commenting on the sights he saw while in China, Brother Dupree said, "They had this one statue about Black people. It was really a trip, you know, going all the way over there to see a Black statue.

"I would like to go over there again, particularly if I had my loved one with me."

For Leonard Turner a sprinter, "I found it a strange country but we were made at home. It was an outstanding trip, as far as I'm concerned.

"I think what impressed me the most was their ability to work together. Those people really work. The labor they go through you would catch in a maximum security prison — and that's everyday for them. It was really outstanding to see them work together the way they did.

"We went to see some factories, museums, communes, places where they produced all their food. The whole countryside would be nothing but food products. They feed their people very well."

Rhodesia Dropped From '76 Olympics

(Lausanne, Switzerland) - The International Olympic Committee, under pressure from Black African countries, voted 41-25 here on May 23 to withdraw its recognition of Rhodesia and exclude it from the 1976 Olympic Games.

The vote culminated a victorious campaign by Black Africans against the racial segregation policies of both Rhodesia and South Africa, which has been expelled since the 1964 games and which was expelled from the Olympic movement in 1970.

The International Olympic Committee acted under the implied threat of a boycott of the Summer Games in Montreal in 1976 if Rhodesia were allowed to compete. An explicit threat by Black Africans at the 1972 Summer Games in Munich led to the ouster of the Rhodesian team after it arrived to compete.

The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, which represents 45 African countries, hailed the IOC vote at its annual meeting Abraham Ordia, a Nigerian who heads the Council, termed the vote "a victory for the world" and a rejection of the "pernicious philosophy of apartheid (racial segregation)."

In a petition to the International Committee signed by 19 African countries — including Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya and Tunisia — the National Committee of Rhodesia was accused of "practicing racial discrimination against the Africans by not allowing multi-racial competitions and by failing to guarantee the equality of training facilities and installations."

All of this is part and parcel of the system of apartheid and this action came at the time for Rhodesia's 250,000 Whites to yield control of the government to the country's five million Blacks.

FILBERT BAYI COMMENTS ON RECORD MILE RUN

In London to compete in a track meet at Crystal Palace on May 30, Brother Filbert Bayi, the young Tanzanian middle-distance runner who last month set the track and field sports world buzzing by breaking the world mark in the one mile, agreed to an interview with Bernard Nossitor from the Washington Post. *After meeting Bayi and talking with him, Nossiter filed this report.*

(London, England) — A few hours before his race at the Crystal Palace Saturday, May 30, Filbert Bayi of Tanzania got off his hotel bed to talk about his lonely life as a middle-distance runner.

"Five minutes, I only give five minutes," he warned. "Newspapers — they use you."

But in the cool sunshine outside, the fastest miler in history unwound a little. He showed off a gold wrist watch, a prize from some race, and talked about his historic 3:51.0 mile two weeks ago in Jamaica.

"No, I didn't know I was running a record," he said in his heavily accented English. "I was running just to win race. I just like to win race."

Does he think he can top it?

"I'm not expecting to win a record. Maybe Jim Ryun (the man whose record Bayi broke) can do it. Not me. Can't say me. Everybody's better."

In fact, his Jamaica mile was no fluke. Despite his modest disclaimer, Bayi pointed out that he had run a 3:52.6 mile in 1973 and 3:54.1 last year.

MY COUNTRY

What makes Bayi run?

"I'm running because of my country. Tanzania is socialist country but I am not a politician. I am a sportsman. If you want to talk politics, talk to a politician."

His brusque manner suggests a shy, suspicious young man, rather than rudeness. He has leaped from the obscurity of an African farm to the center of world athletic prominence, and he is evidently uncomfortable about it.

His father, now dead, worked a small farm near Dar-es-Salaam. His mother still labors as a farm worker to support Bayi's five younger brothers and two younger sisters. Bayi could earn a small fortune by turning professional, but he has resolutely set his face against this course.

"Money is not something very important," he said. "Something important is yourself, your country, your family. You live less than 100 years. Money is like flowers. You can have money today and it dies tomorrow.

"I am 100 per cent sure I will not become professional. No, 101 per cent."

He expects to run "lots of years" and, since he will be 22 in June, he could have a long career. "It depends on my condition, my health."□



Tanzanian middle-distance champion, FILBERT BAYI.



BPINS photo

Havenscourt Junior High School students dance at Community Learning Center.

Havenscourt Jr. High Graduates

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

regularly practices at the Learning Center, provided music on one hour's notice. The cafeteria was decorated cabaret style with candles, terrariums and tables. A banner over the fireplace read, "Welcome, Havenscourt Graduates." Dewey "Dewbug" Johnson dee jayed between the band's sets.

Parents of the Havenscourt students, who have charged that the students of the predominantly Black and Brown school were discriminated against, plan legal action against the Department of Parks and Recreation.□

Police Kill 13 In "Free Zimbabwe" Protest

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

the African nationalists. Smith had earlier insisted that the guerrilla war be ended before any talks could begin.

African anger was heightened three weeks ago when Rev. Canoon Banaa, former vice-president of ANC, was arrested by Rhodesian police as he arrived at Salisbury Airport from Britain. Rev. Banana had spent the last two years living in exile in Britain and the U.S. He was returning to take part in the final push for majority rule.

Rev. Banana was arrested on charges of leaving Rhodesia without a proper passport two years earlier.

At the heart of the matter in Rhodesia is the present White minority regime's out-of-hand rejection of the principle of African majority rule, while the African leaders maintain that the purpose of constitutional talks can only be to resolve the question of *how* power is to be transferred, not whether.□

Apartheid And The African Worker

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

standard of living for the majority of people whose labor has produced economic growth.

Apartheid economics requires an entirely different set of assumptions — and these have not changed. Among the most basic is that which holds that the African is not a person with human rights when he or she works within the White economy; rather, he or she is a "unit of labor." Like a piece of machinery, this "unit of labor" is used or used up; is given perfunctory care to keep it functioning; is placed where it is needed; and is discarded and moved out when it is no longer of use. A machine doesn't decide what work it would like to do or where it will work; it doesn't demand extra care or additional training; it has no rights!

WHITE MAN'S CREATION

A report of the Local Government Commission issued in 1921 stated:

"The Native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas, which are essentially the White man's creation, when he is willing to enter to minister to the needs of the White man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

A half century of economic growth and industrialization later, the same assumption prevails, with the following further refinement:

". . .Bantu are present here for the sake of their labor. That labor is regulated by statute; they cannot simply work at random and at will. . .they are not here. . . to acquire what you and I (South African Whites) can acquire in the sphere of labor, and other spheres."

TO BE CONTINUED

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades,

I thank you for sending me THE BLACK PANTHER. I've found it very informative, and I'm with you and all the brothers and sisters who are involved with the Black Panther.

I hope you will continue to send this paper to me. All my inmates whom I share it with enjoy what they are getting to read. So right on to a beautiful paper. When the time comes for me to raise, you can depend on me for support. Continue to reveal the truth, for the truth brings about a change.

For the people,
Ndugu Imamu Wameri
Ft. Leavenworth, Kan. 66027

Dear Panthers,

Would you as a group ask President Ford to call Kissinger, Brezhnev, Mao, the French and Saudi Arabia, etc., and get them all on the phone at the same time and arrange to quit using money and start being humanitarian and do only those things beneficial to mankind and do them for free? War, pollution and strife would cease over night.

Thanks,
Barry Hiatt

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a xeroxed copy of what, to me, is one of the most valued documents I own—a personal reply from Olaf Palme, prime minister of Sweden, thanking me for my letter of support when he condemned Nixon's Christmas bombing of Hanoi by B-52s during the Christmas season of 1972—an act of pure terrorism without military value to our armed forced and—as it turned out—a very serious reverse to our Air Force in that it was proved to all the world that our B-52s, invincible until then, could be shot down in large numbers by a small nation with limited armaments.

And what is the significance of all this at this time? Just this: This past week the news media have revealed that Henry Kissinger wished to retaliate for the Mayaguez incident with a B-52 bombing of Sihanoukville in Cambodia but was overruled by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, and President Ford.

And I believe that the loud protests to that Hanoi bombing from all over the world, including America, and including my own little piece, had a lot to do with that B-52 blasting off Sihanoukville being overruled.

This cannot be either directly proved or disproved, but like a lot of things that take place in the world, they have very real effect. But maybe—in some very small way—my letter to the Swedish prime minister had its effect. I do know that he personally replied to it.

Most importantly, whether individuals are recognized or not, the righteous demands of all the little people of the world can be and must be recognized.

Sincerely,
Paul H. Dubnar
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Brothers,

My name is Ralph Conrad. I am presently a sophomore at Virginia State College in Petersburg, Virginia, and a sociology major. I have been interested in the Black Panther Party for some time and have tried my best to keep up with many of the issues brought out by your Party, but due to the fact that I am blind, I sometime find it hard to get readers to take out the amount of time to read my book work and articles from your magazine.

However, now an associate of mine has taken a deep interest in reading to me as much information as possible that I can get on the Party. I am now writing your '74 Fall issue of "The CoEvolution Quarterly" in braille. I would like to know if you have any materials in braille in relationship to the Party and also would you please send me a complete guideline and procedures to go through if I were to become a Party member.

Thank you,
A Brother—
Ralph Conrad
Petersburg, Va.

(Editor's note: Information on the Black Panther Party is not presently available in braille, but the Party would appreciate help in developing such information.)

All Power to the People,

I would like to dedicate this poem (see page 21) written by me, to all the gloriously, free, liberated countries that shine like the stars they are. It would be my fondest wish if this poem was printed so that all may know our solidarity with people of color throughout the world. To the shiniest of all, The Republic of Vietnam, I especially dedicate this poem. How I long for our day of liberation and the continous success of the Black Panther Party, our own shinning star.

Black Love,
Bro. David Littles
Wash., D.C.

Veto U.N. Sanctions

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

South Africa falsely maintains that it is actively working for majority rule in mineral-rich Namibia. However, it has consistently refused to cooperate with the U.N., and statements by South African public officials clearly expose South Africa's true position on Namibia.

In a recent letter to U.N. Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, South African Foreign Minister H. Muller wrote:

"As far as the question of South Africa's withdrawal from the Territory (Namibia) and arrangements for the transfer or power is concerned,...South Africa will remain in and continue to administer the territory only as long as the inhabitants so wish."

South African Prime Minister John Vorster said in a recent speech that "we (South Africa) do not occupy the territory. We are there because the peoples of the territory want us there."

Muller further stated in his letter that: "...my government is unable to accept United Nations supervision in respect to South West Africa..."

In last week's Security Council debate, Rupiah B. Banda, Zambia's chief delegate to the U.N., attacked South Africa for refusing to negotiate with the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the only legitimate organization representing the Black majority of Namibia.□

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The CoEVOLUTION Quarterly



GUEST EDITED BY
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FALLEN COMRADE
Sam Napier
Distribution Manager

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.



SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution."
—*Huey P. Newton*

THE COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER

6118 EAST 14th ST. OAKLAND, CALIF. PHONE (415) 562-5262

-Presents-

FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE, 1975
SUNDAYS AT 4:00 p.m.

Sun., June 8

SON OF MAN TEMPLE
COMMUNITY FORUM

PRESENTS THE PLAY

"CEREMONIES IN DARK OLD MEN"

PERFORMED BY
THE NORTHERN VALLEY BLACK ENSEMBLE

$1.00 ADMISSION

REFRESHMENTS



Sun., June 15

SON OF MAN TEMPLE
Community Forum

Father's Day Celebration

HONORING

AL ATTLES

COACH OF THE GOLDEN STATE WARRIORS

FREE ADMISSION REFRESHMENTS



Sun., June 22

Son of Man Temple
COMMUNITY FORUM

A Senior Citizen's Day



Talent Show

ENJOY MUSIC SINGING AND MORE...

50¢ ADMISSION REFRESHMENTS

Sun., June 29

SON OF MAN TEMPLE COMMUNITY FORUM

PRESENTS

A Musical Extravaganza

THE BEST IN LOCAL ENTERTAINMENT

50¢ ADMISSION REFRESHMENTS